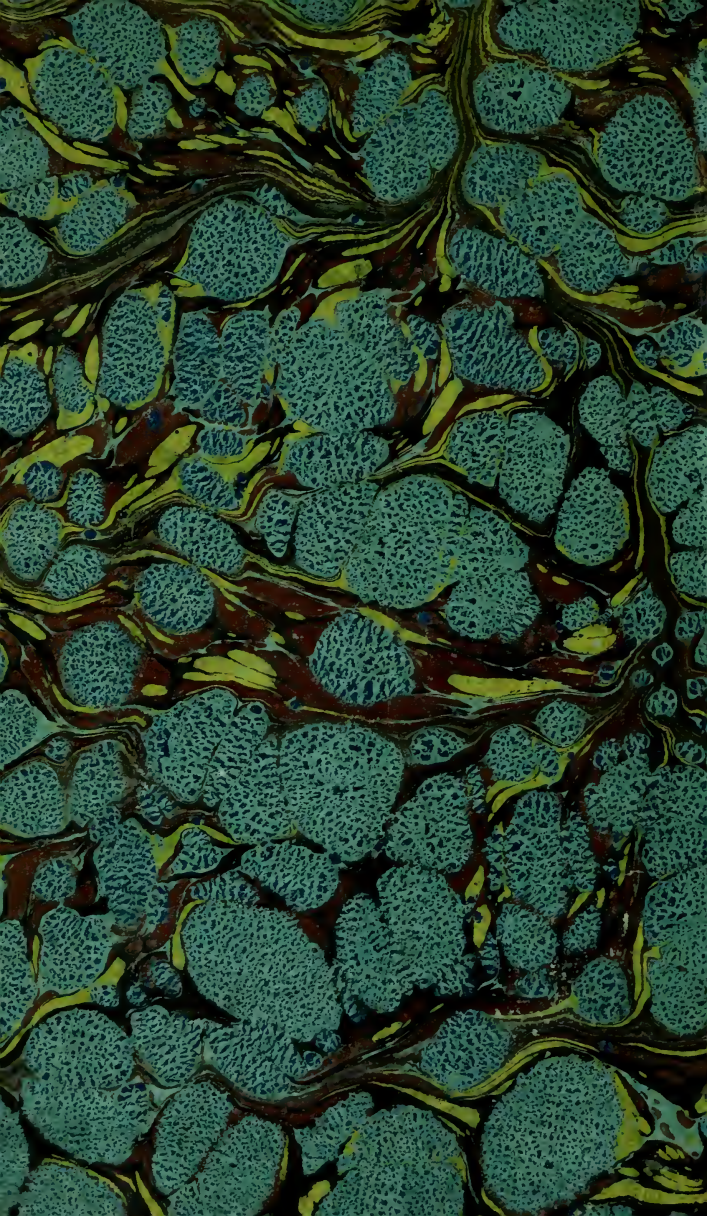

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"France Social, literary, Political"

Il est paru en 1834 -

le manuscrit ff 72-77

[La Monarchie Bourgeoise]

THE MONARCHY

OF

THE MIDDLE CLASSES

FRANCE,

SOCIAL, LITERARY, POLITICAL.

SECOND SERIES.

BY HENRY LYTTON BULWER, ESQ. M. P.

Nature and truth are the same every where, and reason shows them every where alike. But the accidents and other causes, which give rise and growth to opinions both in speculation and practice, are of infinite variety.

Bolingbroke on the true Use of Retirement and Study.

Reverere conditores Deos, numina Deorum. Reverere gloriam veterem, et hanc ipsam senectutem quæ in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra est. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus facti, sit fabulis quoque, nihil ex cujusquam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil etiam ex jactatione decerpseris.

Plinius Maximo Suo S.

PARIS:

PUBLISHED BY A. AND W. GALIGNANI AND C°,

RUE VIVIENNE, N° 18.

1836.

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THIS work was, for the most part, written and in the hands of the publisher some months since; and it was only the desire to be perfectly accurate in certain details, to ascertain which a visit to Paris was necessary, that delayed its appearance. It forms the necessary continuation to a volume published a year ago, and called, "FRANCE, Literary, Social and Political." The new title now added is given in consequence of the author having considered its former omission an error—which it was more essential to rectify in that part of the work which related to recent institutions, than it could have been in the preceding part, which rather treated of the effects of national character and former history.

The necessity for proceeding speedily through the Press, after the unavoidable delay that has been alluded to, has occasioned some few typographical errors, which the reader is requested to have the kindness to excuse. Some slight alterations, since certain passages were printed, have taken place.

N.B.—A translation of all French words or sentences, not translated in foot-notes, is to be found at the end of the volume.

ERRATA.

Page 95, line 35, *for* deterrima *read* teterrima.
— 165, — 1, *for* trial *read* treat.
— 173, — 12, *for* suite of rooms you enter are fine *read* rooms you enter fine.
— 180, — 4, *for* lady with three daughters *read* lady with her youngest daughter.
— 201, — 18, *for* prostitution *read* promiscuous intercourse.
— 203 to 237, There is a mistake in the heading—since the title "Social Condition" ought still to have continued on one page, and the subject of the different chapters on the other.
— 230, — 31, *for* impossible *read* possible.
— 242, — 3, *for* commercing *read* commercial.
government *read* governmental.
— 245, — 28, *for* central *read* control.
— 252, — 21, *for* A jury of thirty-six *read* A jury of thirty.
— 254, — 23, *for* constitution *read* construction.
— 259, — 19, *for* their condemnation *read* the confinement they were condemned to.

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DEDICATION

TO J. E. HOVENDEN, ESQ.

To whom can a writer more properly address his thoughts upon another country, than to one with whose name he has long since been familiar in studying the institutions of his own? I dedicate then these volumes to you, my dear Sir, and allow me to add, that I do so with every sentiment of private friendship, that can add to public esteem.

Any author who now takes up his pen does so at an eventful moment. There is a season when every seed we scatter upon the breeze, however carelessly, will produce and bear; the soil is quick with an invisible being; thus, an interest may possibly attach to these pages, even though so hastily composed.

That interest, however, will be owing as much to the situation of our own country, as to the situation of the country which I more especially undertake to describe.

Let me then, before proceeding to France, carry your attention, and that of any who now honour me by casting their eyes upon this page, to England!

By many, the spirit of change which now ruffles the public

mind is accounted as one of those chance winds, of which no man knoweth whence they come or whither they go—sudden and accidental in their visitation, and as suddenly and accidentally passing away. Is this so?

The links which bound our people to an old aristocracy have long been dropping off one by one from the ancient chain, in which, at the revolution of 1688, society was still bound. Already on the demise of Anne, the commercial fortunes which then began to spring up from that spirit of commerce, to which the spirit of chivalry under the prudent Elizabeth had turned, counterbalanced the power of the great provincial gentry—the main support of those who, in this country, have more exclusively been called the nobility of the land.

The protracted contest for the crown, in which the House of Hanover was ultimately successful, but in which the great bulk of the old families inclined for the House of Stuart, carried on with that civil genius for which we are remarkable, in a series of election contests, accounted for, if it did not justify, the corruptions of Sir Robert Walpole, and ruined the great majority of the patriarchal possessors of the soil. A new race of persons, with names unknown, got possession of those chestnut-avenued seats, which for centuries preceding had belonged to one line of masters. It was then that the peasant and the small proprietor felt a shock in feelings they had long been accustomed to cherish. They met the new squire in the parish church, but they passed fondly by the tombs of his predecessors. The very associations which had hitherto made them respect the possessor of "The Place," now rose up against its purchaser. He was disliked as the new man, more than he was respected as the rich one. First, wealth lost its prestige because it was unaccompanied by

birth, and then birth lost its prestige because it was unaccompanied by wealth.

In this manner, that habit of unthinking respect for superior rank, which had almost seemed an instinct, was effaced by degrees, now here, now there. At the same time, too, the increasing business and luxuries of a capital, and the increasing facilities for visiting it, drew a large class of persons yearly to the metropolis, as a matter of course, who formerly only sought it on some extraordinary occasion of business, curiosity, or adventure. This habit did not—perhaps could not—exist long without a London existence rising more and more into importance, as compared with a rural one; until, at last, a large portion of the great nobility and wealthy squirearchy began to look upon their provincial neighbours, less as useful friends and adherents to be cultivated in the country, than as vulgar alliances and acquaintances to be avoided in town. Hence a silly principle of exclusion, which, ending in the overthrow of its inventors, has made a condemned and excluded body of that aristocracy who, entrenched amidst their solitary boroughs and venal corporations, thought they might despise and defy the nation, without which they contrived to rule. Monstrous delusion!

When we altered the form of our constitution in 1832, what made that alteration so enormous was—that the nobility which governed had no hold on power, save by that form. They had been acquiring a strength where the people were not, and they had been losing their influence where the people were. They had been extending their authority over the small and decayed villages in Schedules A and B; but from the great towns in their neighbourhood their domination had been gradually passing away.

And now, while the country was thus slowly and almost invisibly changing its ideas, it was also changing its habits and pursuits.

Not many years ago, two thirds of the population in England were an agricultural population, depending mainly on the large possessors of the soil : at the time I write, upwards of two thirds of the population are a manufacturing population, deriving their support, rather from the lower and the middle, than from the upper, classes of society. In the mean time great cities, which may be called empires, have been rising into existence; and, during these events, knowledge has been rapidly and widely diffusing itself; and with knowledge that desire for action and that passion for power which are its necessary concomitants.

It is impossible for these causes to exist without their effects. It is impossible for the whole ground-work of society to have been shifting from under our feet without a great shock taking place in our institutions.

The first sign of this was in the Reform Bill, which would have been carried earlier, but for the French revolution of 1789, and which was doubtless hastened by the French revolution of 1830. (1)

The second sign of this has been in the Corporation Bill.

In 1832 we gave the people the power to make laws; in 1835 the people have carried a law which will create popular manners. (2)

(1) One of many proofs, that the destinies of two countries so nearly allied by nature cannot be wholly separate from each other.

(2) If the Lords had altered the qualification of the town council,

These two measures passed—who can doubt as to which way is flowing the tide of future events?

Nor have we here been following a course at variance with the nations around us during the period to which I have referred, or in discordance with that longer portion of human action, which is what we call the history of the world. From the laying of the first stone of the pyramids of Egypt, to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, the great masses of mankind have been gradually advancing in condition: and the sacred law which we obey, preached with a divine prescience nearly two thousand years ago, only proclaimed an equality, which passing through two systems—that of chivalry and the Romish church—and aided by a series of almost miraculous discoveries—has been daily advancing from that hour to this.

I look upon it as certain then, that in this country, we shall also see a monarchy of the middle classes, at no distant date; —whether we approach it gradually, slowly, safely, as I believe we shall; or whether we are hurried to it on the blast of some political tempest, which we cannot now foresee, but which the air—charged with electricity—is at any moment liable to produce.

It cannot, therefore, be without interest to observe—that the

and succeeded in appointing the town clerk for life, they would have done something, but they would have done much less than they imagined. They would have confined corporate power in certain hands; but they would have left the origin of that power in the community. It would still have been not to those above, but to those below them, that the ambitious among the townspeople would have had to look for power; and this would have done what, I have said, the law as it stands must more effectually do, viz: create popular manners.

same year which has advanced us by a new step, and a gigantic step, towards such a monarchy, has shown that monarchy trembling to its *foundations* in the country of which I am writing.

Thus our attention is naturally called to France; and we anxiously enquire whether the dangers that menace her are such as we shall have in our turn to experience. Let us then see whether that nation, which possesses more popular ideas, and, in some respects, more popular institutions than ours, does not also still possess some trappings of a tyranny, such as we never saw. In its manners are the traces of former servitude yet visible? Over its laws do those manners yet exercise some influence? In its progress do we remark those abrupt stoppages and rapid movements which show that it has pursued—not the safe and even course?

On the other hand;—is it not true, that the improvements we are looking forward to will come, as the necessary result of others that have preceded them?

Is it not true that the equality we anticipate will have been preceded by a freedom we have long enjoyed; and that the democracy attaining power will have been educated by an aristocracy that has long possessed it?

Is it not true, that a government of the middle classes in this country would be the government—not of a few of those classes admitted with fear and caution into the gestion of public affairs —but of the great bulk of the people long accustomed to the management of their local concerns?

Is it not true that a government of the middle classes in England would be a government well suited to the serious and commercial character of the English, as a government of the

middle classes in France is hostile to the vain and military character of the French?

Neither would such a government be productive, in both countries, of all the same results. I have to notice a licentious literature, an irreligious people, a philosophy imbued with that spirit of association natural to the state of things amidst which it appears, but covered, at the same time, with the taudry tatters of a depraved licentiousness, the baleful heritage of times gone by. Nobody will believe—whatever mischief might arise therefrom — that the advancing influence of the middling and lower orders of society with us would be accompanied by such consequences. The evils to dread would indeed be of a directly contrary description;—an over fanatic zeal in religion, an extravagant severity of manners, and a temporary absence of those charms of literature and society, which add to the happiness, and ought not to corrupt the manners, of mankind.

To prepare the change that is inevitable, to infuse into the democracy that is advancing to power what was great and graceful in the best days of the aristocracy that has long possessed it; to ingraft on the manly and solid character of the English people the lofty daring and the cultivated intelligence which in times not remote from these were remarkable in the English nobility; to join to the popular virtues of economy and industry the no less necessary qualities (in those who are to guide an empire) of justice, honour, and courage;—to moderate the popular zeal in politics and religion, by a learned toleration for the feelings and opinions of all opponents;—such, it appears to me, should be the desire of a writer who hopes, my dear Sir, for your friendship, and aspires above the mere party aims and politics of the hour.

Some, I know, imagine that every period of civilization is to have the same results. They quarrel with the times gone by, on account of the class which ruled then, as others quarrel with the present, because the power from that class is passing—has in fact passed—away. This, I feel sure, is not the judgment of your liberal and enlightened mind. To an independent and respectable nobility we owe much.

It has enriched our merchants and our tradesmen with the spirit and intelligence of a senate; and preserved the morality of our gentry from the enervating corruptions of a court.

Let us not disdain, then, but embody our past history in our future progress! This is the way that a great people march on easily and naturally in the road to greatness.

Of old, the seer who sought in vain one of those mysterious luminaries he was accustomed to admire—said, "the star is not lost to mankind; but, attracted to some mightier orb, enriches, with the effulgence that I miss, the spendours of a more glorious world:"— and so, on this pigmy earth, the institutions of one generation, when they apparently disappear, do but pass on to the next; and the great system of society is perpetually brightened by the systems it perpetually absorbs.

It is, my dear Sir, with a sincere friendship, that I subscribe myself,

Yours most faithfully,

HENRY LYTTON BULWER.

8, James Street, Buckingham Palace, October 1835.

PREFACE.

A gentleman in his study, a large library table before him, strewed with reviews, newspapers, etc.

Honour to that philosopher who, by the help of a parable, made the author sensible of his situation! who taught him that the first duty of his calling is to fling far from his labours the craven pen which dreads something from every critic! Honour to the philosopher who taught us the homely lesson, that to attempt to please every one is to deserve to please none!

Why, indeed, should I be frightened from my joke, because the bilious Mr. Scarewit was not able, owing to the great demand for his literary contributions, to pay his customary visit this year to Cheltenham!

Then there is Mr. Shortcut,—very stupid, poor soul!—that we all know; but though muddy waters are most frequently the shallowest, he has, owing much, I must say, to Mrs. Shortcut's amiable remonstrances, persuaded himself, that dulness is the sign of a profound genius. I am very glad of it, for his

sake, excellent man! Yet, he shall not make me unhappy by his judgment:—no; though he has the pre-eminent accomplishment of a bald forehead, and gives three of the best dinners in the season.

And you, my little busy-body fellow, who live on the high roads and thoroughfares of life—passing from watering-place to watering-place, and from club to club—reading for the purpose of chattering, and chattering for the purpose of showing you have read—you will damn me, no doubt, to the whole inside of the Bedlingtonian coach—but what of that? *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*, etc.—or rather, in the words of my good friend the translator,

> The man who writes with generous views
> Cares not for critics or reviews;
> Though worlds of boobies on him fall,
> Firmly he stands amidst them all.

(Takes up some of the papers around him.)

But here *is* an amiable article! I should really like to know the critic who wrote it! "Know," did I say?—did not a nice stout little gentleman tell me, a year ago, that he always made a point of speaking ill of every body he had ever shaken hands with? "I do not choose," said he, "to be accused of friendship and kindness; I am above such things." And sure enough, ever since the unfortunate day of our acquaintance, he has honoured me with ill-natured remarks, most continual, and, I have no doubt, most conscientious.

"Laissez dire, laissez dire," says my old acquaintance, Paul Louis Courier; "laissez dire, laissez-vous blâmer, condamner, emprisonner, laissez-vous pendre, mais publiez votre pensée." And, after all, one is neither condemned, nor imprisoned, nor hung in these degenerate times, no matter what one writes.

Much, in truth, might be said of this same criticism which we make such a fuss about. You are abused, your principles, your talents—your very manners and bearing—all abused. Does the writer hate you—despise you—know you?

Not he.

He never looked into your book, nor enquired into your character, nor even saw you from the lower end of the table at a Lord Mayor's dinner; but he writes for a tory paper, and you are a radical—or he writes for a whig paper, and you are a tory—admirable arbiter of public opinion!

You, Sir, whose elegant and graceful style I have traced through the pages of hostile columns, you afford an exception to this stupid practice; you, at least, seem to think that we should keep, even amidst the tumult of contending politics, one quiet and neutral spot, where honourable men may meet in learned peace. There is in my mind also, or I much mistake it, a place where party rancour enters not; and most happy should I be to find amongst the ranks of political opponents the hand of a literary friend—loyal and steady as yours!

Still, I have little right to complain. Much I owe to the best periodical writers of the day; for there was truth in that maxim of Helvetius,

"Les esprits les plus fins sont toujours les plus indulgents."

Even to those who have censured me I owe much. In condemning as a whole what was intended but as a part, they

have encouraged me to the completion of these volumes. And now, a salutation to all of you, friends and enemies, whom I have had as judges, and before whose tribunal I am once more to appear! Thanks to you who have seen any merit, more thanks to you who have seen any utility, in the pages I have, with a deep humility, previously offered to the public. You will agree with me, I have little doubt, as to the imperfect manner in which my task has been fulfilled. You will agree with me also, I venture to trust, in acknowledging there was some difficulty attending its fulfilment.

To paint a country which, visiting every year, every person imagines that he knows—yet which, for the very reason perhaps that it is at their door, few persons have attentively examined—to be met first by the idea that you can say nothing new, and then by the prejudice against all you do say which is not old; to enter last into competition with deservedly distinguished writers, who have wielded the weapons of controversy with a grace and a tact which betrays—what their judgment might have concealed—the sex they belonged to; (1) this was no easy labour to have accomplished with ordinary success, and most grateful am I for that which has been accorded me. There is something indeed in the nature of a work like the present, which furnishes in itself an excuse for its imperfections. On the one hand, the author is called upon to devote much industry and time to the collection of his materials; and this gives his effort the effect of preparation and research. On the other

(1) See Lady Morgan's *France*, and Miss Berry's *State of Society in France and England.*

hand, he is called upon to throw those materials into form with as much rapidity as possible, and this tarnishes his labours with the defects of negligence and haste. Oh! reader, who is to be!—did you chance to hear that not long since, a small island suddenly appeared on the coast of Sicily; instantly we planted our flag there, so, thank God! it is ours. But it as suddenly disappeared—yes, it is ours—but under the ocean; the sounding sea rolls over it again; and if we had delayed a moment, it would never have been added to our empire,—no, never. Such, in some sort, is the shifting scene of life and politics before us, the condition and the fortune of states and of men. We must plant our standard quickly—at the moment—on that fleeting shore;—a minute, and it will be covered by the ever-mounting sea, which has already risen over 5000 years. But—is this my only difficulty?

SAME SCENE.

Enter a stout little elderly Gentleman, with bald-head, large and turned-up nose, covered with snuff, small green coat, violet-coloured waistcoat, light drab trowsers, large watch-seals, and an eye-glass suspended by a piece of black ribbon.

Elderly Gentleman.—So, here you are, busy at it; that's right; nothing like courage; at it again, my boy; but mind now this time—not a word to please the vulgar—no attempt at effect. All simple, plain, that's the thing; no humbug; no dash, no antithesis; write for the few, the select few—the philo-

sophical radicals—they are the men. Read Mr. Bigbottom's last work; why, I'll defy you to get through a page in a week. Proper stuff that: stiff, steady, solemn; where are your frivolous fellows to read a line of it? Saxon too, pure good old Saxon English—none of your Norman lingo! A-propos of that—study my late quarto! No whipt cream, no syllabub eloquence there; not ten persons have read it—and not two of those understood it—I'll warrant you.

Author.—But, Sir, I thought an author wrote to be read and to be understood.

Elderly Gentleman.—To be read and to be understood! bah! why, who is not read and understood? No, Sir, an author writes to be read very little, and not to be at all understood.

Author.—How, then, can he instruct or inform people?

Elderly Gentleman.—Who wants to inform people!—narrow mind—modern notions—all since the invention of paper and printing! What an author—I mean a good and sound author—myself, or Mr. Bigbottom for instance—all we want is—to show our own wisdom; and, let me tell you, the less we are read for that the better.

Author.—I understand; but surely one may try, at all events, to show one's wisdom in an agreeable manner—one gets, you know, a larger audience to hear and admire it.

Elderly Gentleman.—"Audience." Why you would be read by the women next! You would be stuck up on the paper list that fronts the door of a circulating library!

Enter—Publisher.

Publisher.—Well, Sir, your work on France! You said,

you would continue it—very happy, Sir, very happy—but really now, let us consider! What have you left that is interesting to say about it?

Author.—"Interesting!"—Why, Mr. Publisher, did I not tell you in the last page of the last volume that you were so obliging as to usher into the world for me, that every thing "interesting" was to come!

Publisher.—Ay, true, Sir; but I should like to know what *you* call "interesting!" There were "Gallantry," and the "Ladies." Those two were nice chapters—capital chapters. They sold the book, Sir; and "Vanity," and "Victor Hugo," all very good; though there is a young lady, and she ought to know too, for she has been three weeks in France—who swears and declares that you omitted five "ands" and three "buts" in your translation of Lucrèce Borgia. Well, well, young ladies will be difficult.

Author.—Hush! for God's sake, Mr. Publisher, you would not seriously hurt my feelings.

Publisher.—Heaven forbid! but what was I saying? Oh! I remember, those translations—those translations, Sir, in spite of the somewhat careless omission—that, you excuse me, I must admit—of the "ands" and "buts," went off well enough; and then the description of "Paris" and "the Boulevards," and what you said about the Tuileries and the nursery-maids—all did—all. I think you owe me something though, for cutting short that introduction of yours—facts and figures, imports and exports—bless me, nobody out of Parliament cares two straws for those sort of things: a scandalous anecdote or two—a nice little sketch of society—I do not object to history if everybody

knows it—these are the sort of things, Sir, if a writer cares for his public.

Author.—But, my dear Mr. Publisher, what kind of public are you giving me?

Publisher.—What kind of public, Sir! Why, the public of *the circulating libraries*, to be sure. Those are the wings of Fame, Sir. "The circulating libraries"—you will never be a great man if you do not please the circulating libraries.

Author.—There, Mr. Stiff, hear what our good friend, Mr. Folio, says.

Elderly Gentleman.—He be hanged! Sir (*to the publisher*) —your pardon! But you will be the ruin of my nephew.

Publisher (*with much naïveté*).—I hope not, Sir; only I would not have him be the ruin of me.

Elderly Gentleman.—Ruin, Sir; I am ruined—publish at my own expense—could have founded an hospital with what it has cost me; obliged to give up writing, even for the reviews. That *famous* article of mine in the last Quarterly—

Publisher.—Excuse me! but I do not think they could have given you much for that, Sir.

Elderly Gentleman.—Give! I paid 100*l.* for its insertion. It stamps the whole number, Sir; not a man without spectacles can take up the volume.

Author.—I am sure the subject is very "interesting."

Publisher (*with a very painful smile*).—Oh! Sir, if you call that subject "interesting," I fear we must decline. We cannot undertake—it may be very good, very fine, very superior, Sir, but we had really rather not. "Law of Primogeniture!" No, no; send it to "The ——," or "The ——." The editors, it is clear,

are rich gentlemen, and can afford to lose by what they publish. Excuse me, Sir; we have a different rule in our establishment.

Author. — Well, well, Mr. Folio, I have not told you my subjects yet. Don't be too hasty! but let me ask you—have you heard that story of the Primroses! Pretty creature, Mrs. Primrose! Poor woman! Charles, you know, was a younger brother, but Lord Tootledoo always called him his favourite; gave him the dearest masters, sent him to the dearest schools, allowed him at college a couple of hunters! Then, every one saw, that the old lord saved his money, and every one said it was for Charley Primrose. Miss Littlefoot had five thousand pounds. Primrose's regiment was quartered in the neighbourhood—the marriage was secret. The Littlefoots were afraid of Lord Tootledoo, who said, his dear Charles might pretend to the first lady in England. It is but three months since this marriage took place. Lord Tootledoo died a week ago.

Publisher.—True; I saw his lordship's death in the paper.

Author.—Well, the present Lord Tootledoo, who had not seen his papa for years, comes into all the estates unincumbered; for, would you believe it, the old lord was saving his money to pay off the mortgages! and Charles, his favourite Charles, who in three months had mortgaged his wife's fortune, and who owes twenty thousand pounds on his expectations, is left three hundred pounds a-year for life. Mrs. P. eloped yesterday morning with Charley's colonel. By a paragraph in to-day's paper, Primrose himself, I see, is suspected of having forged a draft in his father's name on Messrs. Hammersley. All the connexions of the Tootledoos are in a state of the utmost agitation. Nothing else was talked of this morning at Brookes's.

Publisher.—Very interesting, indeed, Sir; very interesting.

Author.—Interesting! why, Mr. Folio, I have been talking all this time of the effects of the law of primogeniture.

Publisher.—Upon my word, it is an amusing way of treating the subject.

Author.—To be sure it is. And now shall I tell you the contents of my first volume!—"Light Literature."

Publisher.—Good!

Elderly Gentleman.—Umph!

Author.—"Press."

Elderly Gentleman.—Good!

Publisher.—Umph! "Religion," "New Philosophies," "Division of Property," etc. etc.

Elderly Gentleman.—Much of this will do, Sir.

Publisher.—Much of this will *not* do, Sir.

Author.—You, Mr. Stiff, do not like what is gay, and you, Mr. Folio, do not like what is serious; but I intend to please both. What is amusing, I will make instructive; and what is instructive, I will make amusing.

Elderly Gentleman.—You wish to be read—I see you are ruined.—(*Exit.*)

Publisher.—You wish to be read,—so perhaps you will not ruin me.—(*Exit.*) (*But returning a moment afterwards*)—You talked of the press, Sir. I hope you will not advocate taking off the tax; we shall be terribly sneered at, if you do; and, bless me, in respect to the division of property, do not for worlds say any thing against Mr. Macculloch—or we shall be cut up right and left by the Edinburgh, you may depend on it!

Author.—You will not publish the work. . . . .

Publisher.—Oh, I do not say that, Sir! Only pray consider! Then as to "light literature in France," how will you treat that? —a formal essay will not do.

Author.—A formal essay, I think not, indeed! light literature! —oh, we'll make a melodrame of light literature.

Publisher.—A melodrame!!

Author.—Do you doubt? nay, then, up with the curtain!

LIGHT LITERATURE.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ. (1)

Leone Lioni (*a swindler*).
Galerian (*a moralist*).
Princess Claudia.
Governess of Princess Claudia.
Barnave.
Daughters of Sejan.
Captain Brulart (*pirate and nobleman*).
Amaury.
Liberty.
Young Man with parchment.
Cathedral of Augsburg.
Church of Notre-Dame.
Satan.

Devils, Secretaries of Embassy, etc.

(1) All these are characters taken from the romances of the day most in vogue, and preserved as nearly as possible in their original costume.

LIGHT LITERATURE.

Scene, a confused medley of Swiss cottages, and houses of ill-fame—of Pirate vessels, and cachemered boudoirs—of sepulchres and banqueting rooms—In the back ground Venice surrounded by rocks; and the Morgue enshrined in bowers of roses.

Enter Leone Lioni—Lioni is dressed in a long robe of pale green silk, embroidered with large arabesques of gold and silver. (1) *Enter opposite a Galerian in chains.*

Galerian (*with arms folded and a meditative air*).—Who, Sir, are you?

Lioni.—I, Sir!—I am a man endowed with extraordinary faculties (2)—I have all talents and all seductions: if I am present at a concert, I sing and play better than any of the musicians. If I deign to pass an evening in a small and quiet circle, I enrich by the most beautiful drawings the ladies' albums. I sketch in an instant portraits the most graceful, and caricatures the most caustic. I improvise too, and declaim in all languages. I know every dance in Europe, and dance them all with an enchanting perfection. I have seen every thing, judged every thing, understood every thing; in short (*stroking his chin*), I have read in the universe as if it were my pocket-book.

(1) See description, in "Leone Lioni." Un homme vêtu d'une longue robe de soie vert pâle, brodée de large arabesques d'or et d'argent.

(2) Il est certain que Lioni est un homme doué de facultés extraordinaires. Vous savez qu'il a tous les talens, toutes les séductions. S'il assistait à un concert, après s'être fait un peu prier, il chantait ou jouait de tous les instrumens avec une supériorité marquée sur les musiciens. S'il consentait à passer une soirée d'intimité, il faisait des dessins charmans sur les albums des femmes. Il crayonnait en un instant des portraits pleins de grâce ou des caricatures pleines de verve; il improvisait ou déclamait dans toutes les langues; il savait toutes les danses de caractère de l'Europe, et il les dansait toutes avec une grâce enchanteresse; il avait tout vu, tout retenu, tout jugé, tout compris; il savait tout; il lisait dans l'univers comme dans un livre de poche.

Galerian.—Ah! I see from the description, you are the keeper of a hell in St. James's Street. (1) I am a philosopher and a moralist. (2) No man who has not nearly escaped hanging can be one. Oh! (*with an enraptured air*) the delights of virtue! The pure, the incomparable happiness of that beatified state of the soul which plunged in an earthly elysium. . . . . (*Here the Galerian speaking and walking rapidly across the stage, and evidently forgetting himself, uses Lioni's pale green silk robe as a pocket handkerchief*).

Lioni.—Oh! Juliette! Oh! my robe!

Galerian (*melancholy, and as if suddenly awakened from an agreeable delirium.*)—Pardon. Sir, alas! talking of virtue made me think I was again in the galleys. (3)

Enter Governess, leading in a beautiful young Princess.

To the Galerian.—Sir, you seem an honourable man; do us a service!

Princess Claudia (*with enthusiasm*).—Yes, Sir, do *me* a service!

Galerian.—Madam, is what you ask strictly accordant with virtue?

Governess.—Strictly, Sir.
Princess Claudia.—Strictly, Sir. } *together.*

Galerian (*with one hand to his brow, the other gathering up his chains*).—Say on, madam.

Governess (*with proper dignity*).—Sir, my duty to this young lady's parents, my duty to her, but, more than all, my duty to myself, brings me here to tell you that my pupil desires—to be seduced. (4)

Galerian (*shakes his head*).—Pity me ladies! I am a St. Simonian, and I swore to "the father" yesterday abstinence for a month.

Princess Claudia.—Perhaps, Sir (*pointing to Lioni*), that other gentleman——

(1) Lioni is a cheat and swindler.

(2) See Lelia—the character of Trenmor, the Galerian.

(3) Lelia. "Vous ramez trop vite, Sténio, vous m'arrachez une bien chère illusion. Ce brouillard me trompait; ce froid du soir, et surtout ce calme religieux qui était en moi, me faisaient croire que j'étais au bagne."

(4) Lelia, scene between Stenio, Governess, and Princess Claudia.

Lioni (holding out a hand covered with jewels). — One hundred and fifty thousand francs, if you please! That's what my beloved Juliette paid me, I assure you, not a farthing less. (1)

[*While the Governess and the young Princess are consulting together, there appears a good-looking young man, with a Brutus wig and top boots, leading by the hand a couple of young ladies, in a deshabille of the Roman empire in the time of Tiberius.*]

Governess starts.—Oh! Monsieur Barnave, can that be you?

Barnave.—You have said it, madam.

Galerian.—And those young ladies? (*aside*) opera dancers I should say—ah! then they must be virtuous.

Barnave.—These young ladies are the daughters of Sejan. (2)

Governess.—Good God, M. Barnave, how came you by the daughters of Sejan?

Barnave.—Ah! madam, I see you do not know my *forte*. Such things are always happening to me. I was walking in the Tuileries, composing for the national assembly; some body touched my arm; another would have thought it was his mistress —but no, the truth struck me at once; "here," said I, "are the daughters of Sejan!"

Princess Claudia (to Governess, and examining the daughters of Sejan with attention).— Are those the daughters that were— —

Barnave (overhearing).—Precisely, Mademoiselle. Read the last edition of my Memoirs, page 275.

[*At this moment the whole stage is thrown into consternation by the apparition of a tall terrible-looking man, with a pale face, and a long thin nose, and dark thick eyebrows, and hollow cheeks, and a large square chin covered with a beard about an inch long, and thin pale lips, and a clear blue eye, of an insupportable fixety. His common blue shirt, fastened round his waist by a cord, is full of holes, his naked legs are brown and hairy, his hands too are covered with filth, but you see at once by their being long and thin, that his ancestors fought with great glory against Charles the Fifth.*] (3)

(1) See Lioni.

(2) See *Barnave*, by M. Janin.

(3) Figurez-vous un homme d'une taille athlétique, avec un visage pâle et plombé, un front plissé, un nez long et mince, d'épais sourcils d'un noir de jais, et des yeux d'un bleu clair et revêtu d'une fixité insupportable, un menton large et carré, des joues creuses, recouverte

Lioni (*recognizing an acquaintance*).—What, you, my dear friend! Allow me, gentlemen and ladies, to introduce my particular friend, the Comte de ***' alias Captain Brulart.

Captain Brulart (*with an homeric, or mephistophelitic, or rather hyenic laugh*).—Ha! ha! ha! (1)

Princess Claudia.—What very white teeth that tall dirty gentleman has got!

Captain Brulart (*raises his head*).—By all the skulls I have cracked (*he advances*), by all the throats I have cut (*he faces the Princess*), by all the young ladies—(2) [*Here the Princess who, already beginning to blush, had cast down her eyes, was thrown with violence into the modest arms of the Galerian, by a pale interesting sentimental-looking little gentleman, with green spectacles, who, panting, puffing, running, rushed on to the theatre.*]

Galerian.—It is Amaury!

Amaury.—L'ombre est épaisse, la foule est inconnue : les lumières trompeuses du soir éblouissent sans éclairer : nul œil

d'une barbe épaisse à moitié longue, et puis enfin une bouche bordée de lèvres minces et blafardes, agitées par un tremblement convulsif presque continuel, qui, par exemple, laissait voir, pourquoi ne l'avouerait-on pas, de fort belles dents parfaitement rangées.

Ses mains, toutes malpropres, toutes noires qu'elles étaient, témoignaient par leur forme longue et effilée, par la délicatesse de leurs contours, témoignaient, dis-je, une certaine distinction de race. . . .

Le commandant Brulart (car il avait un nom et s'appelait Brulart) même aucuns disent un nom ancien, un nom historique, qui, dit-on, illustre sous François I, fit pâlir plus d'une fois les généraux de Charles-Quint.

(1) A peine Brulart avait-il terminé ces mots, qui furent accentués lentement, qu'un rire tout homérique ou plutôt tout méphistophélétique, ou mieux encore un vrai rire de hyène, souleva sa large poitrine *Atar-Gull*, page 182.

(2) Je te jure par tous les reins que j'ai brisés,
Par tous les crânes que j'ai fendus,
—(Et il se dressa debout.)
Par tous les gosiers que j'ai échancrés,
—(Et il marcha vers Benoît.)
Par tous les navires que j'ai pillés.

Atar-Gull, page 181

[Sainte-Beuve] →

redouté ne me voit. Je me perds, je me retrouve toujours. Les plus étroits défilés, les plus populeux carrefours, et les plus jonchés de piéges m'appellent de préférence : je les découvre avec certitude ; un instinct funeste m'y dirige. Ce sont des circuits étranges, inexplicables, un labyrinthe tournoyant comme celui des damnés luxurieux. Je repasse plusieurs fois aux mêmes angles. Il semble que je reconnais d'avance les fosses les plus profondes de peur de n'y pas tomber : ou encore, je reviens effleurer le péril de l'air effaré dont on le fuit. Mille propos de miel ou de boue m'accueillent au passage, mille mortelles images m'atteignent ; je les emporte dans ma chair palpitante, courant, rebroussant comme un cerf aux abois, le front en eau, les pieds brisés, les lèvres arides——(1)

Governess.—Poor young man! What is he in such a fuss about?

Amaury.—Madam, I am devoted to voluptuousness ; I run after it, I have been running after it just now, through all the dirty lanes and in all the dirty corners of Paris. I gaze on those dirty lanes, I gaze on the dirty ladies who inhabit them —God forbid I should do more than gaze—no, Madam, I have not lost my virtue.

Galerian.—Oh! Amaury is virtuous!

Young Princess (*simpering*).—And have you never been in love, Sir?

Amaury.—Love, Mademoiselle! (*with one hand in his breeches pocket and the other on his heart,*) love! who, of you all—human lovers!—who of you all, amongst those most happy,

(1) The shadows are thick, the crowd is unknown; the deceitful lamps of evening dazzle without lighting; no dreaded eye sees me. I lose myself, I find myself again. The narrowest lanes, the cross-ways most populous and covered with snares, are to me the most inviting. I discover them with certitude—a fatal instinct directs me. These are passages circuitous, strange, inexplicable, a labyrinth tortuous and luxurious like that of the damned. I pass and re-pass the same angles. It seems as if I knew beforehand the deepest ditches, from the fear of falling therein. Or, again I return and glance by the peril, with the air of one who flies it. A thousand expressions of mud or of honey welcome my passage—a thousand deadly images reach me; I carry them away in my palpitating flesh, running on, and running back, like a stag tired down—the forehead covered with perspiration, the feet bruised, the lips dry. .... *Volupté.*

have not felt even in your most delicious hours wearisome and disgusted? Who, of you all, even in the most voluptuous moment of mortal pleasures, have not desired something above or below what you experienced—have not imagined some capricious and inconstant diversion—have not wished—ay, at the very feet of your idol—sighing forth your passion on a perfumed terrace—have not wished, I say, for some coarse exchange—some vulgar creature passing by? (1) But, what do I see? (*he gazes with eager admiration, as there enters a slapping and somewhat slovenly wench, crowned with laurel, and holding a bottle in her hand of that democratic liquid called "vin bleu."*) (2)

Barnave.—It is Liberty! [*Liberty staggering forward and singing a melody, of which are distinguished the following stanzas:*]

The Goddess they call Liberty
Is not of ancient pedigree,
A pamper'd lady fond of ease
Who at a cry will faint;
Dwelling in gorgeous palaces
And daubing her cheeks with paint.

Behold a female stout and strong,
Of bosom hard and large!
Who tramps with terrible stride along
Where shouting squadrons charge.

(1) Qui de vous, amans humains, parmis les plus comblés, et au sein des accablantes faveurs, qui de vous n'a subi l'ennui? Qui de vous, sous le coup même des mortelles délices, n'a désiré au-delà ou en-deçà, n'a imaginé quelque diversion capricieuse, inconstante, et aux pieds de son idole, sur les terrasses embaumées, n'a souhaité peut-être quelque grossier échange, quelque vulgaire créature qui passe, ou tout simplement être seul pour son repos.—(*Volupté, p.* 200.)

(2) Le peuple c'est enfin la fille de taverne,
La fille buvant du vin bleu,
Qui veut dans son amant un bras qui la gouverne,
Un corps de fer, un œil de feu.
Et qui, dans son taudis, sur sa couche de paille,
N'a d'amour chaud et libertin
Que pour l'homme hardi qui la bat et la fouaille,
Depuis le soir jusqu'au matin.—*Barbier.*

Her sombre voice is hoarse and high,
Her skin is brown and tann'd;
There 's a manly fire in her free eye,
And broad is her brawny hand.

She joys in the roll of the warlike drum,
In the powder's sulphurous smell;
In the gathering people's mighty hum,
And the toll of the alarum bell.

Her lovers are of the populace,
She clasps to her big breast
Men of her own gigantic race,
And when she is caress'd—
It is—the battle won and o'er—
By hands where mud is mix'd with gore. (1)

Captain Brulart (regarding his own hands).—Egad! she means me. Here, Madam (*pulling out a small vial*), do me the favour to put one end of this in your mouth, and I will put the other in mine—oh! happiness, we will poison ourselves together. (2)

(1) C'est que la liberté n'est pas une duchesse
Du noble faubourg Saint-Germain;
Une femme qu'un cri fait tomber en faiblesse,
Qui met du blanc et du carmin.
C'est une femme forte, aux puissantes mamelles,
A la voix rauque, aux durs appas,
Qui du brun sur la peau, du feu dans les prunelles,
Agile en marchant à grands pas,
Se plaît aux cris du peuple, aux sanglantes mêlées.
Aux longs roulemens des tambours,
A l'odeur de la poudre, aux lointaines volées
Des cloches et des canons sourds:
Qui ne prend ses amans que dans la populace,
Qui ne prête son large flanc
Qu'à des gens forts comme elle, et qui veut qu'on l'embrasse
Avec des bras rouges de sang.

(2) Eh bien! mon Arthur, nous mettrons ce mince cristal à moitié entre nos dents.... et nous le briserons au milieu d'un de ces baisers délirans.... tu sais.... *See Atar-Gull.*

[Balzac - Peau de Chagrin] →

Liberty (*with rapture*).—Yes, we will poison ourselves together.

[*Captain Brulart and Liberty seen tenderly embracing, with the little vial thus divided together.*]

Liberty.—I am poisoned!

Captain Brulart (*taking a piece of the vial out of his mouth*).—Ha! ha! You see my vial had a false bottom; she has taken the wrong end. (1) Ha! ha!

Galerian.—Alas! alas! Liberty is poisoned! alas! alas!

[*Here a vast crowd of courtiers and secretaries of embassy, stepping down from some little books that may be seen on a small stall, marked, "un sous le volume," join in a joyful chorus.*]

"Liberty is poisoned."

[*In the midst of this confusion occasioned by the sudden and tragic death of Liberty, a young gentleman holding a piece of parchment in his hand, glides forward.*]

Princess Claudia.—Oh! Governess, look at this young man!

Governess.—I see!—upon his young features is stamped a cloudy grace; in his regard you see efforts betrayed and hopes deceived. The sombre impassibility of the suicide gives to his forehead a paleness, dead and sickly, a bitter smile draws into slight wrinkles the corner of his mouth, but a secret genius sparkles at the bottom of his eyes veiled by the fatigue of an orgie. (3)

Galerian.—As when a celebrated criminal arrives in the galleys, the galerians receive him with respect, so let all the

(1) There is the same story of a false bottom in the story of Captain Brulart. The only difference is, that he (the captain) is taken in and not the lady.

(2) See Peau de Chagrin. The plan of this tale is—that a young gentleman goin gto drown himself meets with a magical parchment, which is to procure him the gratification of all his desires, but which is to shrink with his possession of each; as it shrinks, his life is to fade, and when it is quite gone, he dies.

(3) Ses jeunes traits étaient empreints d'une grâce nébuleuse. Dans son regard il y avait bien des efforts trahis, bien des esperances trompées, la morne impassibilité du suicide donnait à son front une pâleur mate et maladive, un sourire amer dessinait de larges plis dans les coins de sa bouche, etc.—*Balzac. Peau de Chagrin.*

persons present, expert in horrors, salute an incomprehensible grief—a wound, of which by instinct they suspect the profundity—thus recognizing one of their princes by the majesty of his garments. Friends, countrymen, and brother novelists, I say, gaze on that sad phiz! (1)

Princess Claudia (*regarding the young man with the parchment, and sighing*)—Tu as bien souffert, pauvre ange! (2)

The young man with the parchment looking around him on Captain Brulart, the Galerian, and the Governess).—Thank God! there is nothing here to desire (*he takes out a rule, and measures the parchment,*)—shrunk one hair's breadth since I left my lodging! and only because I wished not to wet my feet at that crossing! oh! oh!

Princess (*rushing forward*). (3)—I have only sufficient voice left to say, "I am yours. Oh! never, angel of my life, was man so beautiful!"

Young man with the parchment (*in a voice hoarse and muffled*). Fly, fly! What would cure you will kill me.—Oh, Princess Claudia, in giving you a kiss—I give up the ghost—Yes, I die.

Princess Claudia.—Die! and can you die without me? So young and so beautiful! and die! die! but I love you! (*in a deep and guttural voice,*) Die! (*she takes his hand in a moment of folly,*) Cold! is it a dream?

Young man (*holding up the parchment, and showing it to the Princess,—parchment small, little, like a willow leaf*).—No! let us say adieu!

Princess Claudia (*with an air of surprise*).—Adieu!

Young man with parchment—Yes; this is a talisman; it accomplishes my wishes and represents my life; see what remains of it! If you continue to look at me, I shall wish—and if I wish—there is but this little bit left! just look!—

(1) Comme lorsqu'un célèbre criminel arrive au bagne, les condamnés l'accueillent avec respect, ainsi tous ces démons humains, experts en tortures, saluèrent une douleur inouie, une blessure dont ils soupçonnaient par instinct la profondeur, et reconnurent un de leurs princes à la majesté de ses vêtemens."—*Peau de Chagrin.*

(2) Peau de Chagrin.

(3) For this and what follows see end of "Peau de Chagrin," part of which is here translated.

[*The young Lady, taking the parchment, and holding it over one of the lamps of the orchestra, attentively examines the face of her lover and the last remains of the shrinking talisman; but he (the youth) seeing her thus beautiful from horror and from love, is no longer master of his thoughts.*]

* * * * * *

Enter, to the sound of organs, the church of Notre-Dame and the Cathedral of Augsburg. (1)

Cathedral of Augsburg.—Really, my dear Notre-Dame, your part of Paris is so abominably crowded and filthy, that my new gown is tumbled all over, and my satin shoes covered with mud; but here are these gentry of yours who have been horrifying all my German horrors. I think we ought to preach them a sermon.

Notre-Dame.—Yes; let us preach them a sermon!

Cathedral of Augsburg.—Oh, you all-seductive thieves! and virtuous Galerians!

Notre-Dame.—Oh, you all-trustworthy governesses and chaste princesses!

Cathedral of Augsburg.—Oh, you Barnave, and you daughters of Sejan!

Notre-Dame.—Oh, you Brulart, who call yourself Count D***.

Captain Brulart (drawing a pistol from his belt with one hand, and unsheathing his cutlass with the other).—F—re! what do the old witches mean?

(*He shoots Notre-Dame, and runs the Cathedral of Augsburg through the body, then yawning and wiping his sword*).—What a frightful dream! (2)

(*Satan here enters, followed by a number of devils carrying large brooms.*)

(1) For this humanized appearance of Notre-Dame and the Cathedral of Augsburg, as well as for the simple and interesting observations of these two elegant churches, I am indebted to the sublime Author of "Ahasuerus," to whom I refer all gentlemen and ladies who wish to become better acquainted with the language and habits of comets, stars, and public buildings.

(2) This is one of the "gentillesses" of Captain Brulart. He takes opium, and has agreeable dreams, which he calls "his life," and he murders, tortures, and blows up people, and such like, and, after these little accidents—calls out—"quel rêve affreux!"

[Janin]

The Galerian (falling down on his knees).—Oh! Satan, oh ciel!

Lioni (whipping the mitre off Notre-Dame's head, and making toward a trap-door).—I shall be off for Venice.

Barnave (gazing tenderly on a little washerwoman who had just handed him a pair of clean worsted stockings).—Accursed be the first who thought of making of horror a profession and a commerce! accursed be the new poetic school with its hangmen and its phantoms; they have overturned my whole being; and here, whilst I have been observing the moral world in its most mysterious influences, I have never once remarked that the pretty little "Jenny was—become a woman."(1)

The Governess (with the Princess in her hand, advancing to Satan and curtseying).—This young Princess, please your Majesty....

Brular (pulling his pedigree out of his waistcoat pocket and commencing a soliloquy).—"To be or not to be, that is the question."

Satan—Not to be, scoundrel—here *(to the devils)*, sweep this dust off my stage.(2)

NOTHINGNESS.

Light literature in France is in fact a kind of phantasmagoria! Nor is it from any disrespect to its distinguished authors that I have treated it as such. I have but fallen into their own fancy: I have no desire to diminish or to disguise their merits.

The pictures of M. Sue (author of Atar Gull) have force and colouring, and it is only to be regretted that he will not allow

(1) A little washerwoman tells her customer she is going to be married. "Je fus frappé comme d'un coup de foudre; il y avait six ans que je la traitais comme un enfant. Je poussai un profond soupir et me levant furieux,—'Maudit soit,' m'écriai-je, 'le premier qui s'est avisé de faire de l'horreur, métier et marchandise! maudit soit la nouvelle école poétique avec ses bourreaux et ses fantômes! ils ont tout bouleversé dans mon être; à force de me faire observer le monde moral dans ses plus mystérieuses influences, ils m'ont empêché de remarquer que cette jolie petite Jenny n'était plus—un enfant.'"—*L'Ane Mort et la Femme guillotinée*—*M. Janin.*

(2) See Ahasuerus again, who has introduced this new scene.

his heroes to walk, save on stilts, nor to smile, save through some horrible and grotesque mask. The admirable talent of M. Balzac (author of Peau de Chagrin) could only be disfigured by the extravagance and licentiousness he permits himself to indulge in,—and Monsieur Janin would not make us regret he had since written so much, if his first productions were not so full of wit and of grace. G. Sand, or—to remove a mask which has never been acknowledged—Madame Dudevant—is in all respects one of the most extraordinary persons of her time, and if she merit the sober chastisement, wins the passionate admiration of the critic. Her style is the most inspired of the epoch. Rich without ornament, fervent without affectation, and tinged with that antique and sacred colouring which Rome gave to her saints, and Judea to her prophets. As wholes, her works, it is true, are false and forced; but they are replete with parts the most natural, the most eloquent, and the most true—passages, rife with the emotions and the experience of their daring and beautiful authoress.

The person to whom, perhaps, I owe the most atonement for the style of my criticism (since his genius is grave and serious) is the one whom I am also most inclined, from sympathy, to admire; I mean M. St. Beuve, who, in "Volupté," published one of the most original and pathetic romances of our time. His pen steals with a pensive and harmonious poesy to the heart; but the same want of decency and of taste, which shocks us in the mob of French literature, has mounted to its masters.

Why is this? I asked a bookseller the other day. He gave me the following answer:—

"Who read novels now? Not men after thirty; they are engaged in commerce or politics. Not women who are married and in society; they are occupied with their household, their children, the world. Young men and kept women are the readers of our novels, and for these readers our novels are written."

Is this so? Not altogether. For French novels are little more indecent than they used to be,—they are only more ridiculous.

Abounding in talent, wrought into the most absurd and fantastical forms, I do not know what I can better compare them to—than that idol in the temple of Jupiter Ammon—in the form of a beast, it is true, but composed of precious stones.

CHAPTER II.

— Neglect in promoting Community of Thought between the French and the English—A Rogue of Ability and an Honest Man without Ability—Titled Incapacity—Principal Newspapers of Paris—The Constitutionnel—The Journal des Débats—The Gazette de France —The Quotidienne—The National—M. Armand Carrel.

In commencing this chapter, I am obliged to call attention to the melancholy fact, that we have had ministry after ministry, talking about the advantages of a French alliance, sending ambassadors to Paris, concocting treaties with France, but neglecting the only means of establishing that sound and solid treaty with the French people, which arises from a communication of thought—an approximation towards sympathy in opinion.

The Duke of Richmond, a man of more activity and intelligence than his predecessors, says, in a letter to Lord Althorp, (1) —that the circulation of foreign newspapers in England and the transmission of English newspapers to foreign countries have hitherto furnished their sole remuneration to certain persons in the post-office; and that if salaries were paid to these persons, such salaries would amount to 3590*l.*

" It is," continues his Grace, " for the Treasury to decide whether it should burthen the country with this 3500*l.* for no other purpose but supplying a few persons, who wish to receive foreign journals in this country or English papers abroad, with an article of luxury.

" The circulation of foreign journals in this country, and the transmission of English newspapers abroad, has been from time immemorial the privilege of the officers of the foreign post-office, and the proceeds form the sole remuneration for official services to the head of that office and fifteen clerks.

" If salaries were to be paid to those persons, the aggregate would not amount to less than 3500*l.*, and it is for the Treasury to decide whether the revenue shall be burthened with an additiona

(1) See " papers relating to the post-office."

charge to this extent; and this, not for the purpose of any general advantage to the public at large, but solely for the relief of *the few* who are desirous of receiving foreign journals in this country, or English papers abroad, as an article of luxury."

What! is this all that a minister, a cabinet minister, presiding over one of the most important state departments—is this all that he sees in the free circulation of the opinions of one country among the people of another?

The Duke of Richmond is a clever man, but were we to estimate his mind by the observation I have quoted, we should most assuredly deem it ill qualified to use the advantages and appreciate the nature of his situation.

Let us not quarrel with this nobleman, however, for one inadvertence; yet still let me say a word or two here on the system which too often introduces into power men unworthy of being compared with him—men chosen not for their talent, but their rank, to which perhaps he himself, notwithstanding his ability, chiefly owed his elevation.

I detest the cant which condemns men because they are of noble birth, but let us also beware the mockery of selecting them merely for their pedigree.

You shudder, my countrymen, at the idea of a rogue being elevated to an important office in the state, and your feeling is honourable to the national character of England. But what is the difference between a rogue of ability and an honest man without ability? why, just this: the one does as much good to himself as he can with as little harm to you; the other does you incalculable injury without benefiting himself.

Besides, even let us suppose a political villain as bad as he can be; let us suppose that he plays in the funds, ruins the stockbrokers, and provides for his relations—whom does he injure?—a few individuals of the present generation.

A fool, however,—an honest fool, scatters more far and wide the effects of his non-intelligence; he insinuates his stupidity into all parts and branches of the state, into all corners and classes of society, into all interests, and into all opinions.

That stupidity affects the bread you eat, the clothes you wear, the books you read; and not only does it affect *you*, but *your grand-children's children;* its dull shadow is cast

far into futurity, and blights all things within its baleful reach.

Rank and wealth afford every advantage for acquiring knowledge; as such they should be valued and respected; so far the intelligent people of England—prime minister, whoever you may be! (1) will go with you. But you should not take the means for the end, or make a man a minister because he is a lord, any more than you should make a man a professor of mathematics because he has been left a case of astronomical instruments.

Act otherwise! and do you know where it will lead to? Place titled incapacity in conspicuous situations, and you will arrive at the very point which you wish to avoid! (2) Make persons ministers on account of their rank, in the present state of opinion and intelligence, and you will find that the people will look with distrust and loathing on men of rank in spite of their ability.

Let us beware how we tread even lightly in this course! Let us beware how we inspire the belief that a lord is made a minister at home, or an ambassador abroad, merely because he is a lord.—Let us, in God's name, beware how we allow it for an instant to be supposed that any family, or set of families, pretend to make an hereditary estate of the public service!

But, at last, it appears that some change is really to take place in our post-office arrangements; that there are some individuals penetrating enough to perceive, through the opaque bodies of frowning clerks, that the gratification of a *few* luxurious gentlemen is *not all* the benefit that can be derived from an interchange of daily opinion between France and England. (3)

And now, at the moment when French journals arrive more cheaply to our hands, let us enquire into their character and their influence; the opinions and the classes they represent; and the advantages and the causes of a general newspaper system altogether different from our own.

(1) This exhortation is, I need not say, unnecessary as addressed to the able and intelligent minister who now directs our affairs, but who did not do so at the time these pages were written.

(2) The Duc de St. Simon, who tried the experiment, acknowledges that nothing was so likely to hasten the movement he wished to prevent as the failure of his scheme, if it were defeated—and the public exhibition of great men testifying their incapacity in great places.

(3) See appendix for what *has* been done.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL PAPERS AND THEIR SUBSCRIBERS.

	Departments.	Paris.
Moniteur.	1,100	1,400
Constitutionnel.	6,000	3,500
Débats.	5,800	3,600
Gazette de France.	4,800	1,700
Temps.	3,200	2,500
Courrier Français.	3,000	2,600
Quotidienne.	2,600	1,200
National.	2,600	1,700
Messager.	900	600
Bon Sens.	1,800	700
Journal de Paris. (1)	1,500	700

If you happen to see, sitting in one of the classic chairs of the Palais Royal, a little grocer with rather a pinched-in mouth and a pair of dusky brown spectacles—or if you happen to see a good fat red-faced dealer in sausages, with just sufficient wrinkles about the eye-brow to show a kind of lurking anxiety to have something besides an ill-natured wife to find fault with—if you happen, I say, to see either of these gentlemen particularly busy over a paper some fine summer evening in the Palais Royal, be sure that paper is—the *Constitutionnel!*

The *Constitutionnel* took its birth at the restoration, and was founded by MM. B. Constant, Étienne, Jay, etc. The shares,

(1) These are the principal newspapers of Paris, and but a short time since the newspapers of Paris formed the French press. Since the revolution the number of provincial journals has very considerably increased:—partly owing to the long provincial agitation by which the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty was preceded; partly owing to the commercial movement which has lately taken place in France, and which, awakening attention to local affairs, teaches men to benefit the state in improving their own canton or their own commune.

The principal provincial newspapers are:—

Journal de Rouen,

Précurseur de Lyon,

Mémorial Bordelais,

and the journals of Nantes, Marseilles, and Hâvre.

originally worth 4,000 francs are now worth about 150,000, and produce frequently upwards of 20,000 francs a-year.

The immense advance of this paper gives an interest to the manner in which it is conducted. This manner is a peculiar one. Let us transport ourselves into a large room, where a number of people are assembled, all shouting, spouting, disputing!—Let us listen! the value of an opinion is discussed, as the value of rice, indigo, or any other marketable commodity might be. Here we are amidst the shareholders of the *Constitutionnel*, who thus debate, week by week, the best course for the paper to adopt—*i. e.* the course most likely to please its readers.

Those readers are what would be called in France *la petite bourgeoisie*, (1) a class singularly averse to great changes, and never quite satisfied with what exists; a class that requires in its journal a mixture of satire and plain sense—but of that kind of plain sense which is mixed up with a tolerable share of popular prejudice. For the small French shopkeepers there are but two colours—black and white. The devil, for them, has still immense horns and a long swishy tail. There is no idea to which they do not give some material form, or with which they do not connect some pet or popular name. To please these good folks you must paint in your expressions, and here is where the *Constitutionnel* has always been most successful. "*Les Jésuites à robe courte*," "*les seides du pouvoir*," such were the terms in which this journal spoke of that awful sect, the hobgoblin of the restoration! Never did there rise a morning that it did not hold forth upon the disciples of Loyola and their dire machinations; while the chuckling citizen felt a self-conceited pleasure in hearing of the great power, and the terrible plans of his mysterious enemy. The *Constitutionnel* has another quality not to be forgotten. It is the best teller of a murder, out and out, among its contemporaries. It dwells upon every horrible particular—it dilates and gloats upon every abominable fact—it would have lived a century on Thurtell's murder or the Cock Lane ghost—a strong proof, by the by, of what I said in speaking of the drama, viz. that a taste for horrible tales and terrible spectacles results rather from a coarseness of manners than a depravity of morals.

(1) The small shopkeepers.

I observed, a few minutes since, that the *petite bourgeoisie* are averse to all great changes, and never quite satisfied with what exists. This is just the tone of their organ. No paper has such a horror of a revolution, or sees the red cap of 93 so visibly in the front of a republic—yet no paper protests so constantly against being ministerial. "It 's a great pity—no one regrets it more; but not a party, not a person, not an opinion, is just what it should be." This is the tone of the *Constitutionnel;* when it attacks the government more openly, it does so not upon a principal but an act; the brutality of a police agent, the bad lighting of a street, the extravagance of a *fête.* If any doubtful case of home policy arrive, off the *Constitutionnel* starts with some question of foreign policy. The French have been insulted at Ancona; the English wish to take possession of Algiers; the Prussians are meditating an ingress into France; out comes the tri-coloured flag; your eyes are dazzled with the glory of France: a day or two afterwards *when opinion is decided*, the *Constitutionnel* returns home, and takes the *popular* part.

This paper, with all its faults however—common in its sentiments, and not peculiarly elegant in its language—is, notwithstanding, the most useful, as well as the most popular in France; because it constitutes a kind of intermediate link between the higher *bourgeoisie* and the people, and fills up that space between the legal and the illicit papers, which is so unfortunately and fatally vacant in England.

As the *Constitutionnel* is the organ of the *petite bourgeoisie*, the *Débats* is the organ of the great *bourgeoisie* in France.

No paper has been so attacked for a variation in its principles as the *Journal des Débats*, formerly *Journal de l'Empire.* The principles it has advocated have been different, but the party it has remained attached to has ever been the same.

The *Journal des Débats* has always represented the *bourgeoisie supérieure:* the higher branch of that body which we call the middle classes in England, and which imagines itself, more than any other, interested in the maintenance of order, in the security of property, and in peace.

The advocate of the empire, when the empire was a guarantee for that political stability without which commerce and industry find it difficult to exist—in turn imperialist, royalist, carlist, and philipist—advocating no particular dynasty, and only leav-

ing Charles X. when his monarchy became as much a struggle between two castes as between two opinions—such has ever been the *Journal des Débats*;—organ of the most important class in France, and naturally invested with a corresponding importance. No paper has so large a circulation *in Paris*, nor is any paper sustained with more tact and ability.(1) To any one wishing to see the progress made by France in the last fourteen years, and the progress made more especially by that class which is now at the head of affairs, I recommend a comparison between the *Journal des Débats* of 1834, and a paper of the same title in 1820. You see a pigmy by the side of a giant. In the first place the *Débats* of 1820 is about one quarter of the size of its robust successor; then look at the paper, at the printing! and, above all, compare the style and the writing!

In short, in this paper and its progress behold a type of the body it is addressed to!

As early, however, as 1815, MM. Villemain and Salvandy mingled in the politics, and MM. Geoffroi and Hoffman in the literature of the *Débats*. M. Bertin de Vaux, the present peer, was also one of its principal supporters; and along its pages has at times glanced the eloquent and fantastic pen of M. de Chateaubriand.

The *Gazette de France* has some resemblance to the *Standard* of England. It is written with singular talent, and advocates monarchical principles with liberality, eloquence, and ability. *A royalist paper* (2) *among a people of republican feelings, its sale increases.*

The *Gazette de France* was in its glory at the time of M. de Villèle; it opposed M. de Polignac; and since the revolution of 1830 has taken a singular and most subtle direction. During the restoration it attacked openly and ingeniously the constitutional doctrines that were then in vogue, always respecting, as the despotism of Bonaparte would have respected, the French passion for equality; and contending, with much impudence and plausibility, that it was an absurd prejudice to suppose that birth

(1) I believe, almost entirely the property of Messrs. Bertin.

(2) It is in this paper that the ancient *Étoile* and the old *Journal de Paris* are now melted down. MM. de Peyronnet and Villèle were among its contributors.

had ever been any barrier to the success of intelligence. It has now, keeping in view, however, its ancient course, and departing as little as possible from its ancient principles, taken a yet bolder and more popular tone of discussion.

To the charter of the restoration, its system of election and centralization, it opposes an enlightened view of the ancient constitution which Richelieu and Louis XIV. destroyed; contriving thus to trim up a very decent romance from the chronicles of those dead times. Already, in a masterly and well-known view of the revolution of 1789, there had been fashioned from disjointed fragments a political Frankenstein of this description. I say political Frankenstein—for as the magnificent but horrible creation of Mrs. Shelley was not a man resuscitated, but the shreds and patches of a variety of men combined into one form, so the constitution of M. le Maistre was not the constitution of any one time, but the bits and pieces of a variety of times, such as had never in reality existed, and harmonized together,—and which, now for the first time wrought into a compact shape, bore a pale and livid aspect among existing things.

It is, however, this creation of M. le Maistre which the *Gazette* reproduces and applauds.

The regenerated resurrection of the old provincial governments—the organization of primary assemblies, which, in many instances (the right for example of choosing a regency), would exercise a direct and immediate power—such are the demands of the *Gazette de France*,—demands which, in a certain degree meet the claim for universal suffrage on the one hand, and a desire still existing in many parts of France for independence from the capital, on the other;—demands intended to take the power from the *bourgeoisie* of the towns, in order to place it in the hands of the provincial gentry and their dependents.

Here is the difference between the *Gazette* and the *Quotidienne*:—

The *Quotidienne* does not poetize with its opinions. It does not show you royalism as it *might be* in its theatrical and popular costume, but as *it is*. There is no disguise of party hatred, no dressing up of political opinion. It has the talent which the *Morning Post* has lately acquired; it has at the same time the bigotry of its English contemporary.

The *Gazette de France* (1) is the journal of the young and enlightened royalists of Paris, who are glad to see their principles put into so popular a garb. The *Quotidienne* is the journal of the old-fashioned nobility, who still remember the royal coaches of Versailles. The one has been wittily called the *procureur* of legitimacy, the other the *avocat*.

The *Gazette* talks of a king and a nobility as the best for the people;—the *Quotidienne* puts the people quite out of the question; but, dark in its doctrines, this paper is neither stupid nor nebulous in the style in which it displays them.

The *Constitutionnel* and the *Dèbats* are the journals of the *bourgeoisie* great and small; the *Gazette* and the *Quotidienne* (2)

(1) The *Gazette de France* is chiefly the property of an individual, M. de Genoude, and its conduct is supposed to be the suggestion of M. Lourdoueix.

These two gentlemen were employed together during the restoration, M. de Genoude as *Conseiller d'État*, M. de Lourdoueix as *Chef de Division des Beaux-Arts*, in the office of the minister of the interior, and as *Censeur Royal!* I call attention to this occupation, as it is amusing enough to find in the *Censeur Royal* of the restoration the advocate of the unlimited liberty of the press at the present time; to which I might add, that the liberal M. Étienne of the *Constitutionnel* occupied (and filled rather cruelly towards Madame de Staël) the same odious office of *Censeur* during the time of the Empire. M. de Lourdoueix is a man of talent and imagination, and gives to what he writes a colouring that is peculiarly favourable to newspaper success.

The review of the theatres is given to M. de la Forest, who wrote better formerly than he does now; and M. Bossange, formerly a bookseller and a liberal, has replaced, as a literary reviewer, the celebrated M. Colnett, whose articles contributed at one time to give a high literary reputation to this journal.

(2) This paper, formerly directed by M. Laurentie, whose monarchical and religious talent had passed into a proverb, has lately been deserted by that gentleman, and is at the present time, I believe, conducted by M. de Brian, a gentleman of high reputation. M. Netman is one of its ablest writers, and every Monday there appears from his pen one of those political articles, half-serious and half-gay, which have in France such success.

The literary and dramatic part of the *Quotidienne* is conducted by

of the nobility, violent and moderate. The two first are the advocates of the government of Louis Philippe, more or less devotedly; the two last are the advocates of Henry V. and the fallen dynasty, but with equal distinctions.

I am now about to speak of a paper, remarkable before and since the revolution for its talent, and which differs essentially from any I have yet named, in respect to its opinions.

I mean the *National*.

There is this satisfaction, thank God, in speaking of a foreign country, that one is not only free, but even supposed to be free from all party influences and personal affections.

If, in speaking of England, you were to say—that it will be difficult for any ministry, not containing Lord Durham, to satisfy the country, which has been won as well by his bold spirit as by his practical intelligence; if, in speaking of England, you were to say this—some time-serving clerk would remark, that to attach yourself to any man is to injure your chance of office.

If, on the other hand, you said, that you considered Sir Robert Peel many degrees superior as a parliamentary leader to any man in the House of Commons, some excellent whig would remark, with indignation, that he was astonished you should speak in that way of a tory!

Nay; there are some who will look at me with astonishment for having observed—that I think many articles in the Morning Post remarkable for their point; and that I confess the Standard to be edited by a man of ability;—and if, in the same breath, I praise the style of the Examiner and the Register—what will be the consequence? I shall pass with half my contemporaries for a living olla podrida of opinions.

But, thank God, I say, that I can push far from me all these little and hateful considerations, as I find myself face to face with M. Thiers and M. Carrel (1)—the two most remarkable men in France: one the editor of the *National* before the revo-

M. Merle, formerly Director of the Porte St. Martin, at Paris, and secretary to M. de Bourmont in his expedition to Algiers. This part of the paper is usually written not with very great ability, but in an enlightened spirit. M. de Balzac, the popular romance writer of the day, is frequently a contributor.

(1) It is not necessary that one person should be the unprincipled

lution—one the editor of the *National* since the revolution;—one most probably a minister when this sheet is printed; one most probably a prisoner: such, in the shifting scene of politics, is the fate of former friends!

M. Armand Carrel, a young officer in the French army, when in 1823 it entered Spain, went over to the Spanish constitutionalists, and was condemned to death by a council of war at Perpignan. This decree, however, was revised by a council of war at Toulouse, and M. Carrel, owing, it is said, to the private friendship of some of the judges, was acquitted. Upon this M. Carrel came to Paris, and engaged in the conduct of "the American Review," a publication now extinct, and which in its title explains the principles that this young man then entertained, and has since announced with so remarkable a talent. Pale, tall, and handsome, with a countenance agreeable but severe, and manners somewhat haughty and brusque, with the air rather of a man of war than a man of letters, M. Carrel is a singular exemplification of the great extension of that military influence to which I elsewhere alluded, and which distinguishes the journalist of France from any of his literary contemporaries.

In correspondence with his person, M. Carrel's style is stern and simple, but there is an ardour and a glow in that simplicity, which affects you the more deeply from its total freedom from affectation. M. Carrel makes no secret of his republicanism, and dreams of placing the constitution of the United States, taken from the weird banks of the St. Lawrence and the strange mountains of Pennsylvania, amidst the manners of the Champs Elysées and the Boulevards.

Of all visions this is the most virtuous and the most wild. If France ever arrive at a republic, it neither will nor can be the republic of America.

You cannot blot out the history, nor change the character, nor

advocate of disorder, because he is opposed to the government of Louis-Philippe, nor that another should be a base hankerer after place because he supports it. The unscrupulous abusers of M. Thiers and of M. Carrel are to be equally condemned. Indeed no curse to which a nation can be doomed is greater than this rage for vilifying the private character of public opponents—for there is no curse so likely to wither and dry up the virtue of public men.

alter the situation, of a country. And the history of France, and the character of France, and the situation of France, are all different from the history, and the character, and the situation of America. Tell me the constitution of America suits the people of America, and you tell me that it does not suit the people of France!—If a republic take place in France, it will be a military and a literary republic, as that of America is destined to be a peaceful and a commercial one.

But though I differ from the opinions, I admire the character of this honest and remarkable man. (1)

Well, therefore, can I conceive that there is in France a party to which the editor of the *National* is an angel of light and wisdom—a political Apollo—and many, indeed, were those who used to prostrate themselves in the *bureaucratic* temple, where at 2 o'clock he responded to the faithful! Then and there it was that all phrases and opinions were unscrupulously sacrificed to his presiding veto; while the most ardent republicans, such is the force of character and ability, bowed down with pleasure to this Napoleon of the press, and clung to an absolute and voluntary dictatorship.

When M. Carrel assumed the direction of the *National*, he published the following singular and distinctive paragraph: "*La responsabilité du National pèse en entier, dès ce jour, sur ma seule tête; si quelqu'un s'oubliait en invectives au sujet de cette feuille, il trouverait à qui parler.*"

Was I not right when I said the great journalist of France had assumed the place of the great lord? Is not this rather the defiance of a chivalric noble, than what we should call the puff of a newspaper editor? Why then say there is nothing in the character of a people, or tell me that I am light and frivolous, if I venture through its various ramifications to track it out? The dullest critic cannot despise me for the comparisons

(1) Up to the time of its too boldly hoisting the republican flag, the *National* was frequently honoured by contributions from the able pen of M. Odilon Barrot; M. Arago still occasionally writes for it; and M. St. Beuve, an author of a very peculiar style,—every sentence is so minutely chiselled, every thought so minutely developed,—added until very lately, by the talent and reputation of his literary articles, to the weight and popularity of this journal.

I have sometimes made, so much as I slight and despise those, who deem that the past is separate from the present—who consider that the destiny of a nation depends wholly upon its immediate and material interests—wanting the philosophy which they condemn the want of—and incapable of enlarging their dim intelligence to the view of those moral but not inferior causes which have descended to us, an unavoidable heritage, from far distant generations ! (1)

What the *Gazette* is to the *Quotidienne*, and the *Constitutionnel* to the *National*—the *National* was to the *Tribune*. (2)

This paper almost treated M. Carrel and the *National* as aristocrats. It was supposed to be in the pay of the Bonapartists; and having had a certain circulation in the *ateliers*, possessed in M. Marrast, its editor, a man of ability.

CHAPTER III.

Opera Box of the Temps Newspaper—M. Thiers—Eminent Writers in Newspapers—Different Rank held in their respective countries by the French and English Journalists—Effect of High Taxes connected with the Press—System of Governing by Wealth—Education of the Working Classes—Unjust Restriction—Its Consequence—Advantages of the low price of Newspapers in France—The Daily Press in France embodies more of the Intelligence of France, than the Daily Press of England does of the Intelligence of England—Folly of a System of Persecution—Extent to which this System has been carried by the Government of Louis-Philippe.

If you went to the French opera, and saw a very large and very brilliant box, rather larger and more brilliant than any other — whose would you suppose it to be? The king's? no :

(1) *Le Bon Sens*, a republican paper, not long established, and at present not widely circulated, is written notwithstanding with very great ability, and contains, in MM. Cauchois Lemaire, l'Herminier, and M. C. Didier, most able and eloquent contributors.

(2) The *Tribune* has lately ceased to apper, the fines levied on it having entirely exhausted its pecuniary means.

a minister's? no: an ambassador's? no: a Russian prince's? no: an English lord's? no: a French peer's? a deputy's? guess again.

That box is the *Temps* newspaper's!

What! a newspaper have a box at the opera? to be sure; —that box is where the newspaper does the greatest part of its business.

You see that fat smooth-faced little gentleman, and that tall thin pale figure in spectacles—one was a great man a little time ago; the other expects to be a great man soon. The editor is giving these statesmen an audience. They tell him their views, he listens. They tell him the strength of their party, he takes a note. They tell him what course they mean to pursue. he proffers advice.

The editor is a clever man. This is his way of conducting his journal. He pretends that to influence the politics of the day, and indeed to know the politics of the day, he must know the political men of the day. He makes his paper the organ of a party, and he makes himself the head of the party. But how to keep this party together?

He used to give dinners—he now takes an opera-box. I do not know any thing that better paints the character of the French, or of the state of France, than—the journalist at the head of his political party—assembled—in a box at the opera.

In England a paper has immense consideration; but the editor, however respectable, little. You rarely hear him spoken of—in few cases is he known, unless pelted on some accidental occasion by public abuse into notoriety. As for newspaper writers, they are generally held below surmise. We do not think it worth while even to guess who they are.

There seems on all sides the most ignorant willingness to submit to newspaper despotism, coupled with an equally ignorant contempt for those who direct it.

When M. Thiers paid a visit to London a year ago, the English papers and the writers in these papers, strange to say, affected to sneer at M. Thiers, because, forsooth, he had been a writer in a newspaper. I need hardly remark that they showed, by such conduct, a very mean opinion of themselves, and a very gross ignorance of that country in the affairs of which M. Thiers takes so conspicuous a part. It is difficult to

point out a public man of any eminence in France who has not written in a newspaper.

M. Benjamin Constant, M. de Chateaubriand, M. de Lalot, M. de Villèle, M. Salvandy, M. Villemain, M. B. de Vaux, l'Abbé de Pradt, M. Arago, M. Odilon Barrot, have all written in newspapers; and the only man worthy of being put into competition with M. Thiers, at the present moment—the only man whom, at the time I am writing, the dynasty has seriously to dread, is that gentleman who lately sought a refuge on our shores, (1) and whose talents and integrity have been made visible through the channel of a daily journal.

These are facts : into the causes of these facts, the advantages and the disadvantages attendant upon these facts, let us inquire!

It has been said that the different rank which the French and English journalists hold, in their respective countries, is chiefly attributable to the English newspaper-writer being anonymous, and the French not.

There is an error here; and the effect is mistaken for the cause. The different degree of respect which the writers in French newspapers enjoy cannot proceed from the signature of their names, because the political writers in the French newspapers (the class most considered), do not sign their names. They make no mystery of their names, certainly; they usually acknowledge and even boast of their productions—but they do not sign their names, and might be anonymous if they pleased it. It is not because they publish their names that they are respected—it is because they are respected that they make no secret of their names.

To ascertain the cause of this, we must ascertain the causes which constitute the success of a paper in France and the success of a paper in England.

What makes an English journal so powerful? a foreigner arrives in England—he goes to the Traveller's—he hears his neighbours say : " I do not think the ministry can stand, see how the ——— attacks it." " Is the ——— such a very formidable paper then?" he says. "Oh! yes, a very formidable paper indeed." The foreigner takes up the paper, reads it thrice through—and unless it happen to be one of those field days, on

(1) M. A. Carrel, of whom I have been speaking.

which, I admit, a remarkable article may appear—falsely attributes to his want of a perfect knowledge of English his inability to see the peculiar merits of a composition which has in reality no such merits at all.

Convinced, however, that the merits are there, he enquires: "Pray, who is the great writer in this journal?" "Writer—writer!" repeats his informant, "upon my word I do not know—they say a Mr. ——um writes in it."

"Is Mr. ——um such a very great writer then?" adds my curious stranger; "it is very odd that I never heard of his name before. Is Mr. ——um then one of your first writers?"

"I rather think not—I believe not—I do not know that he is," says the Englishman; and the foreigner remains not much the wiser for the questions I have taken the liberty to put into his mouth; for it never for one moment occurred to him that the writing of a paper has very little to do with its success;—if it had, Mr. Fonblanque would monopolise public attention.

Why is this in England? On account of the fourpenny tax? not on account of this tax alone perhaps; but on account of this tax and the system of government, and the state of property which is connected with this tax. A paper has got a great capital—it has been established a long while. It would require a fortune to start a competitor against it. These are the circumstances which make a paper powerful, and as a paper can be powerful in spite of its writers, so the paper is respected when the writers are not.

In France, on the contrary, where the stamp duty is low and fortunes small, a paper depends wholly upon its writers. Good writers are absolutely necessary for good newspapers—the power of the newspaper then is the power of the writer; and therefore the writers for newspapers take the rank of the newspapers in which they write.

Besides, as newspapers must profess their opinions with ability, or those opinions lose ground, all persons interested in particular opinions are interested in supporting particular newspapers. From this double action, as it were—from the rank and power which writing with ability in a paper gives, and the interest which all persons, whatever their political rank, have in supporting with their pen the journals which profess their political sentiments, journalism in France is perfectly different from journalism in England.

The effect of a high tax in a country where there are great fortunes, is to encourage rich men, and to exclude poor men from entering upon newspaper speculation. Rich men once so occupied, they erect expensive machinery, and collect expensive information. The effect of a low tax in a country, where there are not great fortunes, is to engage men of talent and not to engage men of wealth in such undertakings—poor men of talent must rely upon talent. So that in one country success depends chiefly upon capital: in the other, success depends altogether upon ability—here consequently the paper is esteemed, (1) there the writer.

The power of the journals in England then is what the power of the boroughmongers was—the power of money in a particular channel—but with this difference, that its agents are invisible and irresponsible to that public opinion which they evoke. (2)

The system of governing by wealth—the natural consequence of large accumulations of wealth—extends itself into the newspapers as it extended itself into the senate; and upon the same principle that a man of large fortune is even still considered, *ipso facto*, the proper person to make laws (never mind his intellect) for the greater number who are poorer and more intelligent than himself, so a newspaper of great capital is considered the proper organ of just opinions.

I believe it is a not-to-be-controverted fact that Blacks and Whites have invariably condemned God Almighty to be of their own peculiar colour.

The castes of mankind have followed this example, and the

(1) Let us remark this: capital is more necessary than talent for newspapers in England; here the tax operates—and French newspapers are written better than English ones—talent is more necessary than capital for reviews in England—here no tax does operate—and the English reviews are far superior to the French ones.

(2) It may so happen that the press, conducted ably in one country, will produce more mischief than, worse conducted, it produces in another—because the people in this country may be more exciteable and less sensible than the people of that; but I do think it will be acknowledged, that where power is to be conferred it is safer in the hands of the most talented and considerable men in the country, whose names are known and whose lives may be inquired into, than in the hands of a set of anonymous agents—the anonymous agents of a mysterious corporation

revolutionary populace of Paris, as the formidable council of Venice, equally declared that the only honest class of society was that which happened to be in power.

This country has long been governed by very rich men, and very rich men have very naturally laid it down as a principle that great riches are an unequivocal sign that the persons possessing them will take care of the wealth of their neighbours. Now, so much of this is true, that a very rich man will not in general wish to do any thing injurious to the welfare of very rich men.

Whether a very rich man is, or whether many very rich men combined are, likely to govern for the interests of the far greater mass of very poor or moderately rich men, has never yet been taken soberly into consideration. (1)

That a man who has got great property will preserve property, seems an undeniable axiom, until we consider the various ways in which property may be taken away. For instance, the old nobility of France had great property, but it is not quite clear to me, when, by the power which this property gave them, they refused to pay any share in the contributions of the state, that they did not rob their fellow-citizens, who were thus obliged to pay an ampler share than was just of the public burthens. The borough-possessing aristocracy of England had great property, but it is not quite clear to me that they did not rob the people of England, when, by means of their great property, they got great parliamentary influence, and by means of their great parliamentary influence they got great sinecures, many of which we, the people of England, are still paying to this aristocracy and their relations.

Whenever great wealth can give great power, great wealth is just as likely to lead to abuses as if this great power came from any other source. The rich man, in short, is just as likely to rob the poor man, if he has the capability of doing so, as the

(1) The richer a man is, the better guarantee people imagine they have for his good conduct: "He has got a great stake in the hedge, and you may depend upon it he will take care of the hedge," is the common expression: which ought rather perhaps to be—"you may depend upon it he will take care of the great stakes in the hedge," for it is not quite so certain that he will not warm his own family by faggots he cuts out of the little ones.

poor man is to rob the rich one—always supposing in either case that principle is not there as a preventive.

But this has not been the common opinion ; and the taxes on newspapers, which necessitate a large fortune for carrying on a newspaper with success, form part of a plan which places power under the security of wealth.

The theory may be plausible—but what are its effects ?

1$^{\text{dly}}$, By giving journalism the basis rather of money than of mind, you make the writers of papers less known, because less respected, and less responsible, because less known.

2$^{\text{dly}}$, By restricting competition to the very rich, you make papers themselves more powerful than they ought to be, and encourage them to be less honest.

3$^{\text{dly}}$, By creating a price for papers which but few, speaking comparatively, can afford, you make them disregardless of the interests and feelings of the great masses by whom they cannot be bought.

The first proposition I have shown.

The second is self-evident.

The third I come to the consideration of—impressed, I confess, with a deep sense of its importance.

And, let us allow that there is something a little ludicrous in the air of comfort with which the legislator hugs himself in his present contrivance ! Suppose the imposition on stamped papers makes them excellent—what follows ? that it would be a most desirable thing for the poor and discontented to read such papers. When the Queen of France heard that her people were starving, she exclaimed, " Good God ! why don't they buy some of those dear little buns ?" But the poor French people could not buy the Queen's dear little buns, and the poor English people cannot buy the government's dear little newspapers—this is the joke ! Their excellent journals are excellent for the very reason which prevents their doing good.

Our working classes are taught to read, to be sure ; every pains is taken for so desirable an end ; they are made electors too, and thus taught to feel an interest in politics ; nothing can be so wise and proper.

But, having taught the working classes to read and to feel an interest in political matters, what do we do next ? why, we very wisely and consistently prevent their being able to purchase legal political publications.

We say to the mechanic, you are quite rich enough, my worthy friend, to have a vote for a representative,—only you are not rich enough to learn how your representative votes.

But if we leave a large class without an organ for their opinions, depend upon this!—some one will furnish that organ in spite of all our penalties to prevent it.

Is not this the case at the present moment? Have we not two machines working on public opinion? (for a journal, though it represents opinion, does not *only* represent it—it also forms it.) Have we not the opinions of the wealthiest promulgated and formed by one machine which we sanction—the opinions of the poorest, by another machine which we prohibit? We have thus contrived a method to prevent extremes, which propagates extremes, and instead of appealing to the intelligence of all classes, which eventually keeps the different orders of society united, we are exciting the separate passions of two classes, which will ultimately bring them into conflict.

What! the English press more violent than the French press? —my lord shakes his head.—It is true that the French press in general—addressed to a nation which a long series of events has rendered inclined towards democracy, will be, according to the ideas of a rich aristocracy, more violent than *that part* of the English press which is addressed to themselves. But let that aristocracy read another part of the English press—a part of the English press which is so remote from all their views, habits, and ideas, that it would never enter into their heads to suppose that it could exist, but for the kindness of some attorney-general, who, by an untimely prosecution now and then, instructs them of the circumstance.

For instance:—

"TO THE INSURGENT AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

"You are much admired for every thing you are known to have done during the last month; for, as yet, there is no evidence before the public that you are incendiaries or even political rebels. Much as every thoughtful man must lament the waste of property, much as the country must suffer by the burnings of farm produce now going on, were you proved to be the incendiaries, we should defend you by saying, that you have more just and moral cause for it than any king or faction, that ever made war, had for making war.

* * * * *

" A Constitutional Monarchy is hypocrisy sanctioned by law; its terms and limits can never be legally defined; it is a constant contest for power among factions; it is, on the part of the people, a state of conquest, or ignorant slavery; if hereditary, it is liable to bad passion, to imbecility, or to idiotcy; it is a compound of contradiction; it engenders, as it has *now* engendered in England, all sorts of abuses; it becomes the government of an aristocracy; and it is, in fine and in fact, the worst and most degrading form of government that has ever been devised for a people.

* * * * *

" On the Sunday mornings and evenings, and on the Friday evenings, the service is very properly called *divine*, and is certainly the best theological service that has yet been presented to a congregation. The character of the Deity is *vindicated* on the Sunday mornings, by Mr. *Carlile*, against the monstrosities set up in that name by the priests and fanatics!!!—*The Prompter*.

" Man, wrung by want, goaded by insult, duped, maddened, starved, is no longer man—he is a monster!—let them beware of the unearthly thing they have formed! He will ravage! rage! burn! He will (as in Ireland) adorn himself with blood!"—*Poor Man's Guardian*.

I could then turn to a tirade, in which the title that monarchical England cheerfully pronounces is impudently laid aside, and the sovereign abused under the somewhat plain appellation of "Mr. Guelph," for neglecting the interests of the people, whose liberties he was at that very moment wisely and prudently, but at the same time generously and magnanimously, extending.

Even the illustrious princess to whom England owes so much for a retirement beneath which the royal hope of these countries has been soberly and discreetly reared—notwithstanding her prudent privacy, and conduct that defies reproach—is attacked with vulgar and voluntary virulence; nor is any creed, principle, person, or authority so sacred in the eyes of these printed preachers to the people as to claim their forbearance or respect. (1)

(1) I will take this opportunity of observing, that we have a pledge from the existing government that the cause of this nuisance shall be withdrawn at the earliest moment compatible with the necessities of the revenue This is the first pledge of the kind we have received, and I

Is there danger in this? "There can be none!" say your. It may be so; but, alas! these violent absurdities are addressed to a class possessing excellent intentions and generous sympathies, but ignorant, naturally jealous of the great, and totally without any other organs of opinion. Nay, more; the journal I have been quoting from—silly as we see it, and contemptible as we may wish it to be—is written not without a certain eloquence and ability, and sold, when I last enquired, about 400 copies a-week in Coventry alone;—while at the very moment at which I am writing there are 70,000 copies sold per week of almost similar unauthorized publications.

They are sold in opposition to the law—they are then, of course, written against the law—they are sold in spite of the wealthy classes—they are then, of course, written against the wealthy classes.

How can you hope for peace and harmony in the community, when you cut in two the stream of opinion—when you exclude the peasant from that branch which you direct to the proprietor, and hide from the proprietor that branch which is flowing on to the peasant? (1)

Rest assured, that if there be any thing to prevent a violent convulsion among our neighbours, it is that low price of papers which allows every doctrine to enter into every home.—If there be any thing likely to bring about a convulsion among ourselves, it is that severance between the sevenpenny papers which go to the peer's breakfast-table, and the twopenny papers which go to the mechanic's cottage.

There is another advantage in the French system: by making

never for my own part deemed it a wise or worthy policy, to disgust those who profess friendly intentions by manifesting a hitherto unmerited suspicion. Still a frank confidence in a promise makes it more binding, and they who most cheerfully accepted Mr. S. Rice's assurance will watch most steadily its fulfilment.

(1) If you have a very high tax, that high tax is avoided — and the press consists of two extremes. If you have a moderate tax, by diminishing the advantage of disobeying the law, and thereby providing for its obedience—you have a press addressing itself to a middle class, and therefore taking a moderate tone—uniting the two classes most opposed, and not separating them.

intelligence the governing principle of the press, you bring into action a power which, from its very nature, is always preparing futurity:—

By making wealth the governing principle, you put into action a power which is never addressed but to the moment.

Any child told to look at the state of England, at the present moment, and to put his finger on the dark spot which bodes the storm, would point to that which, as yet but dimly visible, indicates a struggle between the few who have much, and the mass who have nothing.

I do not ask—whether it be better for a nation, that its property should be so disposed—but I say merely if it be better that such should be the distribution of property, it is most necessary that all classes,—that the class which is poor as well as the class which is wealthy—should be informed of it. If such a state of things is to continue, it can only continue by its advantages being generally proved; if such a state of things is to be altered, it can only be safely altered by keeping each class in constant communication with the views and feelings of the other.

This is the difference between the past and the present: in the past you kept the people ignorant, and the people weak. In the first place, they did not busy themselves about their condition; in the next, it signified little to you if they did. But you have now given them intelligence and power: you must therefore either satisfy them with their condition, or you must, by frequent interchange of opinion, arrive gradually at a safe method of changing it.

Let your newspapers address the great mass of the nation, they will, in a certain degree, adopt—they will, in a certain degree, form—the opinion of the great mass of the nation. The government will as a matter of course accommodate itself to the guide which will then be there to steer its course. Where there is *a tendency to one great opinion there will be no great convulsion*—but keep opinions separate; let the rich think one way and the poor another, and I defy you to prevent a war between the poor and the rich.

If I say that the daily press in France embodies more of the intelligence of France, than the daily press of England does of the intelligence of England—if I say that the differences of opi-

nion among the papers which find circulation in this country are more marked and more dangerous than those which are exhibited by the journals in circulation at the other side of the channel, I am very far from intending to assert or to prove that French journalism is a model of wisdom or moderation.

You cannot have the French press what the French nation is not. As the one is quick, passionate, light in its judgment, and fickle in its ideas, so the other will neither be wise nor wary in its expressions. But observe! As a natural consequence of the French press, as a whole, addressing itself to the great mass of the French nation, any fraction of it advocating a favourite class, or a particular opinion, is the least influential when it is the most violent; while the press itself, considered altogether as a political engine, must ever be the *most powerful* when it is *the most moderate.*

The first is a fact, and requires no argument in its favour. The most moderate liberal paper is the *Constitutionnel.*

The subscribers to the *Constitutionnel* in the departments are 6,000—in Paris, 5,500; nearly double the number of any other liberal newspaper. The *Temps*, for instance, has for subscribers in the departments 3,200—in Paris, 2,500.

The *Gazette de France* is the most moderate of the Royalist papers. The *Gazette* has for subscribers in the departments 4,800—in Paris, 1,700. The *Quotidienne* has in the departments 2,600, and in Paris 1,200.

The *National* is the most moderate republican paper, and it has 2,600 subscribers in the departments, and in Paris 1,700. The *Bon sens* 1,800 in the departments, and 700 in Paris.

The moderate papers then of the three opinions—liberal, royalist, and republican—have about double the number of subscribers possessed by their less moderate competitors.

This is my first assertion—now for my second!—viz. That the press in France will be most powerful when it is most moderate; —or rather that—*the press in France, as a political engine, will not be very powerful, except where it is very moderate.*

Let us see how far this, which all must grant involves important considerations, is a true proposition!

The French press addresses itself to the entire nation, *i. e.* every class that can read—or which has an opinion in the nation.

Now let us suppose it has any given object in view—say the overthrow of a dynasty, or a ministry—in order to be powerful, it must endeavour to unite the different classes it addresses in favour of that object.

But for the press, as a whole, to effect this—each part of the press, the tendency of which is to address a certain class, must make concessions to the other—the more concessions that are made by each part of the press, the more united the whole press becomes; and when the press is the most united, it is the most powerful. But what is moderation? the mean way between opinions—in proportion to the number of opinions brought to a standard by the press, is the moderation of the press—and in proportion to the number of opinions brought to a standard by the press is the power of the press:—the power of the press and the moderation of the press then, are, in fact, the same thing, where the press addresses itself to every reading class among the people.

Supposing, however, that the press from its price or any other cause, address itself only to one class; it will then have no occasion to be moderate—if it address itself to two classes, it will have only occasion to conciliate these two classes—three the same.

The more classes, therefore, that the press addresses, the greater certainty you have of coupling its power with a necessity for its moderation.

This is what I admire in the press of France—only powerful when it is moderate, it is only dangerous to a government which is not so.

The time when the press was most powerful in France was during the ministry of M. de Polignac. It was then that all shades of liberal opinions were united, and it was this which made the liberal tone that it adopted at once so calm and so strong. The revolution destroyed the power of the press, because it destroyed its unity and its moderation, and broke up into the fractions of republicanism and royalism the general expression of liberal feelings and opinions.

The more violent the press becomes, the more it splits itself into fractions, and becomes weak: the more violent the government becomes, the more it unites and keeps the press together and makes it powerful. Hence the folly of a system of

persecution and repression—a folly which I regret to find the government of France is ignorantly guilty of.

We can see to what an extent this system has unfortunately been carried!!

NAMES OF THE NEWSPAPERS.	LAW-SUITS.	CONDEMNED ARTICLES.	TERM OF Imprisonment.			FINES, Interest, and Costs, by Approximation.	
			Years.	Mths.	Days.	fr.	c.
The Tribune.	86	17	14	2	,,	82,474	62
The Révolution.	32	11	9	3	15	41,469	..
The Quotidienne.	17	12	1	10	15	23,637	61
The Gazette de France. . . .	18	8	1	9	,,	24,013	12
The National.	12	1	,,	1	,,	6,175	,,
The Charivari.	1	1	,,	1	,,	6,175	,,
The Caricature.	7	4	1	1	,,	5,528	,,
The Corsaire.	2	2	1	,,	,,	2,420	,,
The Courrier Français. . . .	1	1	,,	1	,,	250	,,
The Journal du Commerce. .	1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
The Messager des Chambres.	2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
The Temps.	1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Different small papers. . . .	127	48	10	10	,,	50,842	20
Societies.	65	21	15	3	,,	25 066	,,
Private Individuals.	39	17	9	8	,,	33,505	,,
TOTAL. . . .	411	143	61	49	30	301,555	55

Journal du Commerce.

I am quite convinced that there is not one of these prosecutions which has not had the effect I have described; viz. That of making the press more powerful against the government which instituted them, by uniting the press against that government.

In fact, a government in the situation of the French government, when it prosecutes the press because it is violent, ends by being itself the representative of that violence which it began by putting down.

The parties attacked become more moderate from a necessity of union—the party attacking more desperate from a sense of danger.

The prosecutions of the restoration coalesced, as I have had occasion to say, the Bonapartists and the patriots; and it was this coalition which overthrew the Bourbons—the prosecutions of the *juste-milieu* are tending to unite the carlists and

the republicans, and that is the best chance of overthrowing Louis-Philippe. (1)

RELIGION.

CHAPTER IV.

Force of an Opinion propped up by a habit—Le Roi tres-chrétien—State of religion in France—Chateaubriand's Génie du Christianisme.

THERE are few things more difficult to ascertain than the real force of an opinion, which has long been propped up by a habit.

The shadow remains so long upon the surface of things after the reality has passed away—the sensation of an effect continues so long after the cause has ceased—that we are for ever in the habit of deceiving ourselves, and imagining that that lives from faith and belief which in fact only continues from indifference and from custom. Here is the error which unhappily prevails in all revolutions, and induces a minority to resist where there is nothing to be gained but by concession!

Here is the error which statesmen have been too frequently guilty of, and travellers and superficial observers almost invariably fallen into!

Here is the error which produces so many of those contradictions which encounter us in every page of history, and raise up, side by side, things which appear utterly incompatible with each other.

Let us suppose that we were two thousand years removed from the time of Louis XV, and that some book of voyages—the book of an Herodotus of the 18th century who had visited the court of France—fell into our hands.

(1) See Appendix for different facts connected with the French press—the duties—laws, etc.

"This monarch," (Louis XV.) he would say, "is called *le Roi très-chrétien;* and the religion of Christ condemns as deadly the crimes of fornication and adultery.

"The very Christian King, nevertheless, lives openly with a prostitute, and employs the money he receives from his very christian subjects in maintaining an immense seduction house, which he fills with the most beautiful he can procure of their very christian daughters."—What would you say on reading this page? "Bah! This King might call himself 'very Christian' and his people might call themselves 'very Christian,' too, if they pleased it, but after all, the piety of both parties must have consisted in the mere puppet-show of their appellation." Stop a little! we will turn, if you please, to our traveller's next page! What shall we say, when we find there—that the King we have just seen described—living in the greatest pomp, and exercising an uncontrolled sway over his people—descended from his throne once every year, and in observance of one of the great duties of christianity, washed with his own hands the feet of a certain number of dirty beggars who were brought to him from the streets for this pious purpose?

Where is the sovereign accustomed to pomp, to luxury and to power, who would descend from his throne in so humiliating a manner—to perform so disgusting an office—unless it were loudly demanded from him either by his own conscience, or by that of the nation he governed? "The very Christian King," you would affirm, "must have been very christian after all."

But the question would not rest here: crowds of learned commentators would arise to show that things could not be as they were printed, that there must be error in one passage or the other.

Some would say, "the whole text is a forgery;" others would prove irrefragably that part of it had been illegitimately inserted; and woe unto the low and humble critic who should venture to whisper that things inconsistent are compatible; that the *Parc aux Cerfs* might be—a picture of existing manners; and the pious ablution of the beggars—the shadow of manners that were gone by.

I remember when M. de Ségur returned from his embassy to St. Petersburgh, he was startled at the sudden tone of familiarity and equality that the French people had assumed. "Not

many months before," said he, "no people in the world were more obsequious and cringing to their superiors."—Yes; there had been a sudden change in forms, because there had been a gradual but silent change in ideas.

It is important to have such examples as these before us, without which we are perpetually confusing effects and causes; and charging one poor moment of time with the events of which long years before ought justly to bear the burthen.

At the time of the revolution of 1789, I doubt much if there were not less real religion in France than there is even at the present moment; there was far more of that kind of religion throughout the country, however, which with statists passes for religion itself—of that kind of religion which is altogether independent of thought and scrutiny, and rests simply on ignorance, blind credulity, and a conformity to traditionary custom.

At the time of the revolution the higher classes were sceptical, the middle classes indifferent, the lower classes superstitious.

The worst evil of violent prepossessions, unconnected with reflection, is the violent reaction that ensues when doubt insinuates itself into the place of blind belief.

I say "doubt,"—but ignorant people rarely doubt; foolishly believing one moment, they as foolishly persecute for belief the next. This is why the mass are still for ever in extremes, as in darker times all men were.

Let no one then support ignorance on the ground that it is favourable to religious belief! It is favourable to religious belief—but alas! it is favourable also to irreligious re-action. It is favourable to fanaticism of all kinds; the fanaticism of faith—the fanaticism of infidelity. The mob of September butchering the priests, is the proper *pendant* to the mob of St. Bartholomew butchered by the priests' orders.

As long as the lower classes are worse instructed than those above them, so long, let us remember, every feeling, whether it be political or religious, as it descends in society, will become more violent and more extreme. Thus the religious indifference of one class (disciples of Diderot, Voltaire, and Helvetius) became irreligious persecution when it reached the crowd before which Marat appeared as an apostle. (1)

(1) How would the philosopher of Ferney have been disgusted at

But it was not from this band of brutal reformers, that the humbled ministers of Christ had anything to fear for their beautiful creed.

The people who had yielded to the light and graceful assaults of ridicule and wit, revolted, and with justice, from the uncouth and savage attacks of the assassins, who, with an admirable honesty of intention, substituted the guillotine in the place of the fagot; and, with mercy in their hearts and charity on their lips, committed acts more atrocious than any they professed to extirpate.

Under the sentences of a savage infidelity, religion, like those hardy plants that are nourished by the storm, recovered a passing appearance of returning health. The priest poor, persecuted, concealed, proscribed, no longer the executioner but the victim—no longer the proud tenant of a palace, but the miserable occupant of a prison—the priest, in this crisis of his misfortunes, rose from the grovelling position into which he had been plunged by his prosperity:—amidst the terrors of the republic, and the licence of the Directory, there spread among the French a sense that the rites of their forefathers might have been wronged—that the vices of the clergy were not necessarily impurities of the church—while all men, even those who deem slight differences in creed of small religious importance, who coolly regard a matter of faith as they would a matter of finance, saw with pleasure the return to what they considered the decencies of a superstitious ignorance, as far preferable to the wild disorders of a vicious and unnatural struggle after thought.

It was amidst these mingled feelings, favourable to the attempt, that a variety of circumstances concurred in re-establishing and vindicating the ancient religion.

But that religion appeared in its resurrection still covered with the flowers under which it had been laid in the tomb. It uplifted itself, breathing the perfumes and borrowing the charms of the elegant philosophy which had destroyed it. Far different from the rude and stern apostle of the desert—the modern champion of the faith, M. de Chateaubriand, uprose brandishing the

seeing all the ancient cruelties of religion perpetrated under the hapless name of philosophy; philosophy, however, is no more to blame for the abominations of Robespierre, than religion for the crime of Ravaillac.

graceful arms, and proud in the painted panoply of his opponents; no longer demanding belief, as the spontaneous result of faith, the christian solicited it as the well meditated result of reason.

"Il ne faut plus prouver," said he, "que le christianisme est excellent parce qu'il vient de Dieu, mais qu'il vient de Dieu parce qu'il est excellent."

Nor was this all: I could not desire a stronger proof of the power of literature in France, than that which is to be found in the *Génie du Christianisme.*

What is that eloquent work?—a pleading before the Academy in favour of the gospel; a series of arguments intended to prove —that christianity is *in very excellent taste.* (1)

This may be true, or not true; but to a person seriously occupied with his eternal salvation it would seem rather ridiculous to tell him, that he was sure to be saved by his doctrine because it was favourable to the arts. The French, I mean that part of the French to whom M. de Chateaubriand addressed himself, were not seriously occupied with their eternal salvation; they were sick of the cant and the cruelties of infidelity; they had witnessed, amidst severe trials, the comforts of religious consolation; and, without feeling absolutely convinced of the truth of the divine law, they wished for an excuse to believe it.

Such was the moment at which the young poet, returning from his travels, introduced piety into Paris under the mask of a muse. He wore his opinions with the grace with which Madame Récamier folded her handkerchief: (2) and the christianity of the one and the *coiffure* of the other soon became equally *à la mode.*

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Madame Récamier invented, about this time, a head-dress that went by her name.

CHAPTER V.

Disappearance of the Impiety of the Republic—Religion re-established by Bonaparte—Doctrine of the Royalists at the Restoration—Ambition of the "*parti prêtre*"—The Jesuits.

And now all the impiety of the republic, all that bigoted and furious hatred of the church and its priests, had disappeared.

"Je dois dire," says M. de Montlosier, "que je ne trouvai alors nulle part l'esprit irréligieux systématique que j'avais vu avant 1789; je trouvai encore moins l'esprit irréligieux, haineux, incendiaire, qui s'était produit depuis, et qui avait particulièrement dominé l'âge de la révolution. Un petit nombre de prêtres sauvés, comme à la nage, des dernières tempêtes, d'autres récemment revenus des contrées étrangères, tout cela obtenait, non seulement l'estime, mais le respect; il n'y avait pas jusqu'à l'impiété elle-même, qui, honteuse de ses excès passés, ne supportât franchement les prêtres ou même ne les accueillît."(1)

But if the catholic church arose—"the catholic priest had no civil existence—no worldly importance."

Bonaparte, in re-establishing religion, gave no power to the ministers of religion. Here was the great difference between the empire and the restoration.

The one said, a holy creed is not to be prescribed by the drunken folly of demagogues; the other said a great nation ought to be governed by the monkish policy of priests. Napoleon was for maintaining a great moral and political institution

(1) I ought to say that I nowhere found the systematic irreligious spirit which I had seen in 1789. Still less did I find that irreligious, hateful, and incendiary spirit which has since appeared, and which ruled the age of the revolution. A small number of priests, saved from the last storms, others newly returned from foreign countries—these obtained not only esteem but respect. Even impiety itself, ashamed of its past excesses, supported frankly the priesthood and received it.

useful to government in general. The Bourbons were for maintaining a set of tried partisans, and faithful adherents, as useful to their government in particular; this was the doctrine of the royalists in 1814 and 1815; and lo! the church which, as bodies perish from excess of blood, fell, under the old régime, a victim to its wealth and its possessions—which, invigorated by the persecutions of the republic, maintained itself with dignity during the decent protection of the empire—was again prostrated by the favouritism of the restoration.

In order to understand the violent change in opinion which a few years so suddenly produced, in order to understand why the church, which had been gradually growing into vogue during the empire, became so thoroughly and bitterly detested during the restoration, it is necessary to have these facts before our minds.

During the empire, religion sought to raise itself by flattering the prevailing tastes of the French people; during the restoration it sought the same distinction by combating those tastes.

During the empire, religion was attached to the state, but its ministers were kept wholly attached to religion; during the restoration, religion and the ministers of religion were confounded, and as the one was thought necessary to the people, so the other was consulted by the government.

To change the nature, to contradict the habits, to annihilate the recollections of the French people—such was the gentle ambition of the "*parti prêtre*"—who in prohibiting the dance and the festival, frowning on the academy, excommunicating the theatre, interfering with the exchange,(1) deemed it possible to subvert the character, and thwart all the ideas of an epoch.

There was one feeling in common to the partisans of the divine right of kings, and the party who contended with quite as much reason that their rights were the only rights divine—viz. a deep dissatisfaction at the existing state of things. The *parti prêtre* then and the *parti (soi-disant) royaliste* united—the one taking the church as an instrument to restore the golden days of the crown—the other making the crown a pretext to aid the designs of the church. The aim of this confederation was to maintain to the clergy an influence, which, as their doctrines

(1) The clergy even forbade the receiving of interest for money lent.

became every day more notoriously unpopular, they every day more notoriously lost.

There were only two ways left to do this; for the time when it could have been done by the pulpit and the confessional was past: there were only two ways left to do this—to bring up a new generation in the thoughts which it was impossible to give the existing one; and to lend the priest an authority, as civil servant of the government, which he could not hope to possess as mere minister of religion.

Accordingly, to bring the clergy into the magistracy and the ministry, and to place the clergy at the head of education—such was the plan of those who wished to priest-ride the people—while to oppose this plan became clearly the object of the people, if they did not wish either themselves or their children to be priest-ridden. But directly the government meant to employ the church in worldly matters, and that the church itself meant to engage in the affairs of the world, that body of the catholic priesthood, which since the time of its institution has been most adroit in uniting clerical interests with political ability, rose at once into notice and power.

I can join in none of the ungenerous abuse with which the Jesuits have been frequently overwhelmed. The great, and wise, and learned reformers, who, humanizing religion, mixed with mankind, who, succeeding the templars, possessed it is true the avarice and ambition of that military order, but who, as bold and crafty, were neither so cruel nor intolerant as their predecessors;—not less adventurous than those daring knights—but founding the society of Paraguay, instead of desolating the East with the sword—the decried Jesuits were a body of men to whom humanity owes much; and whose cunning and duplicity are at least as pardonable as the ignorant, and violent, and blood-thirsty spirit of their contemporaries. Remark, however! this society, when it appeared, had to defend the church against the sword; the power of the mind against the power of brute force; and in order to govern the monarch, it was necessary to have the affection of the mass. But when the church, instead of contending against princes, had to look to princes for its support, the policy, the conduct, and the bearing of the order of Loyola changed, in accordance with the change that had taken place in the world around it.

The Jesuits then, under the restoration, were what they had never been before; no longer popular and pliant, they were proud and insolent; no longer bowing to the commons, they flattered the crown; and appearing in front of the party that was odious to the nation, concentrated upon themselves, as it were, the national hatred.(1) And now, just at the moment most likely to receive its impressions, appeared the famous book of Abbé de la Roche Arnaut.

This young man, illustrious as a renegade from his order, revealed and invented facts which raised into a yell of indignation the long-smothered murmurs of public opinion. Such was the fever of men's minds, such the horror and the anxiety excited among all classes by this remarkable production, that 50,000 copies were sold in a few days. The plans, the rules of the holy society, and the names of its members, were unscrupulously unveiled. The colleges of Mont-Rouge (near Paris), of St. Acheul (near Amiens), the two famous institutions charged with the education of the more pious and illustrious royalists, had their system exposed and their intentions explained.

France thought itself the victim of a religious conspiracy, of a second Popish plot. The Jesuits were suspected of every thing, and every body was suspected of being a Jesuit; nor was it long before the government (then under M. de Martignac), finding it impossible to set the storm any longer at defiance, passed the edict, which, prohibiting all persons from belonging to a society unsanctioned by law, dissolved the different Jesuitic establishments. But the cry against the Jesuits was a cry against the clergy and its partisans in general, and I am sure I shall not be accused of exaggeration, when I say that

(1) If an opinion was to be maintained, it was anti-Jesuitical; if a minister was to be destroyed, he was a Jesuit! *à bas les Jésuites* resounded from one end of France to the other, and such is the danger of an odious ally, that because the monarchy was supported by the Jesuits, it was only necessary to support the monarchy in order to be cried down as a Jesuit. But this was not all: the Jesuits, and that party which acted with the Jesuits, finding themselves thus hated and attacked, saw that there was no middle course to take—they had to conquer or be conquered; there was no alternative, then, between the ordonnances of Louis XV. and the ordonnances of Charles X.

the most influential part of the French nation, which, as we have seen, was rather favourable than hostile to the church in 1814, held it in a state of actual abhorrence and execration in 1830.

Strange to say, since the revolution which then took place—the revolution received with so much horror by the more pious catholics—the revolution which has admitted even Jews within the pale of state protection—since that fatal revolution, the faith which it was to have destroyed has lost a great part of its unpopularity; and with the exception of one bacchanal and disgraceful disorder which, if it insulted the cross, was excited by the *fleur-de-lis*—the doctrines of christianity have been extolled as a philosophy, and its ceremonies respected as a religion.

CHAPTER VI.

Opinions of a country—Mistakes of Foreigners—Anecdote—State of Christianity in France at the present moment—Revenue of the French Clergy—Has Religion lost or gained by the Wealth of its Ministers?—Rural Clergy in France—Ecclesiastical Statistics—Self-denial of a French Priest—Advantages derived from a poor Priesthood—Classes of the Catholic Clergy—The Abbé de la Mennais—Les Paroles d'un Croyant.

In speaking of the opinions of a country, our first care should be to ascertain the ideas and sentiments of those who form what is called the public opinion in that country.

But even here it is easy for a foreigner to be mistaken.

An Englishman visiting Paris, and seeing as much of the French as an Englishman in that situation generally does see, might be too apt to think that, in Mr. Owen's romantic vision, coming events have indeed but briefly cast their shadows before them, and that he has only to stay out another carnival, in order to behold Notre Dame and St. Geneviève converted into Gymnasia.

A French gentleman of some celebrity, speaking to me the other day of a young and distinguished member of the House of Commons, said,—and he was speaking to a large audience :

"Mais il est un grand méthodiste, n'est-ce pas?"—"No; not that I know of," I replied. "Eh bien, je vous dirai ce qui m'est arrivé avec lui. We were talking of religion, I abused the catholic religion, your countryman, Sir, was particularly civil; 'Monsieur est donc protestant,' he said. 'Non, monsieur, je ne suis pas protestant.'—'Vous n'êtes pas protestant, vous n'êtes pas catholique—est-ce que vous êtes mahométan ou juif.'—'Non; je ne suis ni protestant, ni catholique, ni mahométan, ni juif.'—'De quelle religion donc êtes-vous,' continued the young Englishman. 'Monsieur, je suis de la religion de Socrate.'—'Eh bien! voulez-vous le croire,'" exclaimed my French gentleman, "votre membre des Communes en avait l'air tout choqué."

Now this was said aloud in a saloon where there were many persons, whom I happened to know were rigid and strict catholics, and yet no one seemed in the slightest degree annoyed at this public and unnecessary avowal of deism on the part of the person who had been speaking so indecently.

In England we know that a person using such language would not only have excited the disgust, the just and decent disgust, with which such an avowal of infidelity in a country professing itself christian, ought to be received; far beyond any disgust of this kind, the feeling excited would have been a sort of blood-curdling horror of superstitious abomination, which would have exaggerated into a ghost or vampire, a living mass of murder and impiety, the person who professed himself thus openly a pupil of Plato. It would therefore be very natural for an Englishman to suppose that the persons who listened quietly to Mr. ——'s declaration were in fact of his opinions.

But Mr. Stuart mentions several cases of a similar kind in the United States of America, where there is certainly as much christianity, and even as much christian fanaticism as in Great Britain; yet, where no person thinks he has any right to abuse and condemn a fellow citizen for having different convictions from his own, however atrocious he may deem those convictions.

This proceeds in both countries—in France and in America—from the general feeling of equality which is established among all men; an equality which is so much a habit of life, as to become a habit of thought, and which has to a certain degree extended itself from rights to ideas.

But, notwithstanding any isolated facts to the contrary, many of which must necessarily fall within the reach of a partial enquirer, I think the state of christianity in France may be thus fairly described, as it exists as the present moment:—

CHRISTIANS.	INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.
1. The south and west of France almost without exception.	1. The great majority of the metropolitan population.
2. The higher classes (to use an expression to the English reader), i. e., the nobility, gentry, and the more rich *bourgeoisie*.	2. The men of science and letters; the army.
3. The rural population in general.	3. The small *bourgeoisie* of the towns.

From this it would follow—

On the one hand:—

That the districts most distinct in France, in general are:—CHRISTIAN.

That the classes most wealthy in France, are:—CHRISTIAN.

That that part of the population numerically the most important in France, is:—CHRISTIAN.

On the other hand:—

That the spots in France most mixed up in French affairs, are:—INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

That the classes most influential in French society, are:—INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

That that part of the population politically (electively and municipally,) the most important, is:—INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

The Minister of Religion, who is also Minister of Education (these two departments being very properly considered conjoint), is at the head of the administration of the state church, which now embraces the ministers of the Catholic, Protestant, and even Jewish faith.

The allowances were and are as follows:—

1827. CATHOLICS.	francs.	1834.	1835.
A cardinal (there were three). . . .	30,000		
Archbishop of Paris.	100,000	40,000	25,000
Other archbishops, each.	25,000	15,000	
Bishop.	15,000	10,000	
The general vicar of Paris.	4,000	4,000	
Other general vicars of the metropolis.	3,000	3,000	
General vicars (in general).	2,000	2,000	
A canon (Paris).	2,400	2,400	
Other canons.	1,500	1,500	
Curates, *i. e.* priests. . 1st class.	1,500	1,500	
2d class.	1,100	1,100	
Assistants, answering to our curates 1st class.	900	1,000	3 classes.
2d class.	750	900 / 800	

The *casuel* or fees of the Catholic clergy usually double their fixed salary.

In the reformed church the salaries vary from 1000 fr. to 3000 fr., and there is no *casuel*.

In the Jewish from 500 fr. to 1000 fr (1)

The Catholic religion has no longer any estates separate from its allowance. During the restoration, it was allowed to receive donations within a certain limit.

From 1820 to 1825—this was during the heat and fervour of the religious struggle I have described—the donations to the church doubled what they had been from 1815 to 1820—but let not political hypocrisy pass for religious zeal!

There were five times as many ANONYMOUS *donations to other charitable institutions.*

In an exposition of the rights, honours, preeminences, and privileges of the ancient clergy of France, the author, a priest, and anxious to revive the ancient order of things, makes a comparison which, I believe, is a just one.

"The revenue of the ancient clergy of France," he says, "amounted before the revolution to about 135 millions of francs (about five millions and a half sterling). The budget of this year (he was writing in 1824,) is 30 millions, 30 thousand francs. The difference between the two epochs being 105 MILLIONS.

(1) See "Analysis," France, Social, Literary and Political, for total expenses of religion.

"Then," he continues, "before the revolution, the clergy of France consisted of 412,419 individuals, comprising the two sexes; now, alas! it hardly contains 40,000 priests and 36,000 pupils, in the different seminaries educating for the priesthood. This number of 40,000 is insufficient—it ought to be raised to 50,000," (if 50,000 are sufficient, how ridiculous the number of 412,419!) "while instead of 82,580 women devoted to the church, we have now *but* 19,000."

It would be unjust to dispute the facts of this holy writer; facts, indeed, which he subsequently establishes, clearly proving that the church was far more numerous and more wealthy as a body than it is:—but he never proves, nor deems it worth while to prove—that the church's piety was in any degree promoted by its numbers or possessions.

Compare, I say, the clergy of those times—when Dubois was cardinal, and St. Simon gives as a reason for admitting the Bishop of Troyes into the council of the regency, that he had lain with all the ladies of the court: compare the clergy of those times—when the spruce little abbé in his violet coat and brass buttons went modestly to a *loge grillée* in the theatre, just to see the folks damning themselves whom the church refused to bury; compare the clergy of those times, receiving their 135 millions of francs, with the clergy who receive 30 millions at the present day—make this comparison, and say what you think religion has lost or gained by the wealth of her ministers!

When a man tells me that he wishes the church to be wealthy because he has a son who has taken orders—when a man tells me that he wishes bishops to have 30,000 a-year because he has a brother, the college friend of the prime minister, who will certainly be a bishop—when a man tells me that he wishes clergymen to be *gentlemen* because he has a dandy nephew who is just the thing for a parson—I shake him heartily by the hand, and rejoice, for my part, that the state provides for so honest and frank-hearted a fellow. But, really, when your solemn-faced puppy pharasaically remarks, that, though many of his family are in the church, he, God knows! wishes to see the church wealthy for far other and higher considerations; that he wishes to see a church mingling with the aristocracy, and endowed with large possessions, merely because he believes that an aristocratic and wealthy clergy best promote the interests of religion—when some sinful toady of the peerage demurely says this—such

impudence, I confess, puts me out of countenance, and I have hardly sufficient presence of mind to reply:—"Look to the Catholic clergy of Ireland! look to the dissenters of England! look to the pious, and excellent, and exemplary body of men forming the clergy of France,—who constitute, without dispute, the most respectable part of French society, and who, if they want in some respects the intelligence of the times in which they live, have all the simplicity, and more than the virtue, of a darker age!"

"The priests here appear to be a very good and amiable sort of men. I always pull off my hat to any of them that I meet, and they always return the salutation with great politeness and humility.

"They dress not only while at church, but at all times, in a long sort of coat gown, called a *soutane*, made of black cloth, and wear the old-fashioned cocked hat. You cannot mistake the priest in France for any other than he is. His devout manner, and the simple and sacred habiliment that he always appears in, make you acquainted with his profession at once. This is not the case with the divines of our country. In the famishing curate we do, to be sure, very often see an example of piety and mildness—but the religious character of the *beneficed clergyman* is not at all times to be recognized in his manners and personal appearance: he, though quite as sincere, no doubt, as these meeker priests in France, is very often admired as the most venturesome rider in the fervour of the fox-chase, as being a good shot, or the best hand at a rubber of whist, etc."

I quote from a little pamphlet which contains some interesting details. (1) But to make a comparison such as that which its writer has made, is not my intention; because it is never just to judge one part of a society without considering it in all its relations with other parts of that society; what would be intolerable in the members of a profession in one country, might be perfectly harmless and unexceptionable in the members of that same profession in another country.

I leave, therefore, my reader to his own conclusions—but I cannot leave him to those conclusions without saying, that the picture drawn by Mr. Cobbett of the rural clergy in France is,

(1) Mr. Cobbett, Jun.

according to my experience, and I have mixed with many of them, correct.

The greater part of these holy men are peasants by birth, and frequently born in the village where they afterwards exercise their functions. Their habits then are simple, and they mix naturally with their followers, of whom they understand the wants, the habits, and the language. They exercise a power—not so extensive as that of the Irish priests over their flocks—but a power, mild and conciliatory—and are usually beloved and respected by the villagers, at whose christenings they preside, whose marriages they arrange, and whose quarrels they compose.

To the presbytery the poor may go with the satisfaction that they will find a friend—a friend not entirely removed from their condition, and who can have no rivalry in their affairs; a friend willing to listen to their complaints, to give them counsel they understand, and to preach, with a mixture of brotherly tenderness and spiritual authority, that divine doctrine of humility and resignation which finds, in spite of our vanity and ambition, a deep and holy echo in the human heart. (1)

The following are the ecclesiastical statistics of the numbers of the Catholic clergy composing the twenty-four dioceses of the kingdom, drawn from authentic documents, year 1855.

Titular	675
Honorary	446
Curates	3,241
Assistants	24,517
Vicars	6,989
Chaplains	449
Almoners	989
Priests (supernumerary) authorised to preach and confess	459
Total, priests in active service	37,745
Priests on duty, died in 1855	1,114
Total, priests in active service	38,859
Number deficient for the service of dioceses	11,732
Number of priests judged necessary by the bishops	50,591

(1) It is to be regretted, perhaps, that with the virtues which the country clergy of France possess, there are not united others, viz. a

Priests employed whose age exceeds sixty years . .	9,755
Priests, aged or infirm, not capable of duty	1,870
	11,625

ORDINATIONS DURING THE YEAR 1833.

Priests.	2,059
Deacons	1,721
Under-Deacons	1,681
	5,461

ECCLESIASTICAL SCHOLARS.

Theology	7,417
Philosophy	2,462
In the secondary ecclesiastical schools.	15,826
	25,405

By this statement it would appear, as well from the number of priests required for the service, as from the decrease (in 1824 the number was 36,000) of the students educating for the priesthood, that there is a certain difficulty at the present time in maintaining the ranks of that very respectable body, to whose virtues I should be ashamed not to render justice. But let us not at once suppose that this is owing to the smallness of the salary which the clergy receive—a salary wholly sufficient for their simple wants, and, as they are taken, for the most part, from parents poorer than themselves, more than they are accustomed to, or, had they remained among the laity, would have received.

It has become more difficult to fill up the ranks of the priesthood, not because the pecuniary rewards of the church are insufficient, if pecuniary rewards could alone suffice, but because

greater elevation of views, more extended knowledge, and principles applying better to the affairs and conditions of the world. But, with all their faults and deficiencies, these men form, as I have said, a class in which are found some of the most useful and honourable citizens of France. The clergy of the towns are better informed, in general, than those of the country. They are paid better, and are chosen from a class a grade or two higher in society; but they possess neither the same virtues, nor do they obtain the same respect.

pecuniary rewards cannot alone suffice when they have to counterpoise all the tastes and affections, and habits of the human heart.

You tell me that the church was crowded when it had rich benefices and bishoprics at its disposition,—ay;—but had it only rich benefices and bishoprics? Had it not also pomp, power, place, all that corrupts and gratifies our nature? Were not its favours courted, and its vices forgiven? What difficulty was there in renouncing the world, when you thereby gained what was most valued in the world? Do you think that the most holy of the martyrs themselves were insensible to the glory that awaited them in front of the lion?

To be a French priest at present—what do you receive, and what do you renounce? You receive a moderate but honourable subsistence, perfectly sufficient for all the wants which are necessary to, or indeed compatible with, your calling. But you renounce the honours of a literary or military career; you must turn aside from all that animates and vivifies your nation. You must for ever abandon the passion of the peasant, whose toil you have escaped, but from whose desire—desire becoming every day more ardent, you cannot from every early recollection and daily habit be entirely free. You must abandon the hope of having a little spot of ground, which shall become a field, perchance a farm, under your care and economy—a field or a farm, which would be your own.

Nor is this all;—out from the innermost depths of your heart you must pluck the soft and gentle passion, which has not only been given you by nature, but which the society in which you live brings in every varied reflection before your eyes.

To be priest you must neither be dramatist, nor warrior, nor proprietor, nor lover, nor husband, nor father;—you must renounce all these titles, so precious in a nation at once affectionate and vain;—and this without any of those gratifications which have mingled with the religion and the religious enthusiasm of the best and wisest of men. No one shall call you saint, nor worship you as prophet; no one shall mingle with your person any of that mysterious divinity which of old mantled the ministers of God.

You shall be loved and respected; but you shall be loved and respected as a man;—you shall be loved and respected, but you

shall be loved and respected as a member of society;—and you have foresworn the pleasures of a man, you have placed beyond the tomb the pleasures of society; *you have made the sacrifice of religious enthusiasm amidst the empire of religious indifference.*

Let me proclaim boldly, that a poor priesthood has always been, and always must be, a zealous and devoted one. But let us not confound events; let us not imagine that it is the same cause which always produces the same effect, or that poverty and purity, which are frequently the sign of a religion on its rise, may not sometimes denote its decline.

The ministry of a rising religion, not merely animated by the vulgar motive of procuring a revenue by their virtue—on which virtue nevertheless their revenue solely depends—not merely stimulated by this vulgar motive however, the members of a rising religion have their souls filled and satisfied by a nobler and more exquisite gratification—a gratification the highest of which humanity is capable, proceeding from the adoration, the worship of their disciples. Here is an impulse given to their energy, here is a reward held before their eyes,—an impulse which no government can give—a reward which no benefice can supply.

But reverse the medal;—behold not a religion rising, but a religion falling!—its revenues have been diminished; we may disguise the cause, but the cause will really have been some diminution of our religious zeal. Then what follows?—The same sentiment which has diminished the emoluments of the church, scrutinizes and watches over its conduct; for the very reason that the clergy are worse paid, they are obliged to be more active, more pure. They are placed in the middle of a crowd, who no longer superstitiously embrace their feet, but who look them intelligently in the face.

The clergy of that fallen religion will thus become more pure as they are worse paid, and as they are worse paid, they will diminish; but they will diminish not because they are worse paid, but because the same cause which diminishes their pay exacts from them all the purity of their creed, but accords to them none of the honours of its apostles.

I depart then from the vulgar cry, that it is only necessary for a priesthood to be poor and pure for its doctrines to succeed.

But if a church *may* be pure and righteous after its fashion, and yet decay and perish, I defy you to show me in all history, past and present, the example of a church, which has not been corrupted by its wealth, which has not fallen or which is not falling, crushed by the weight of its possessions:—and the catholic church of France—that church which, reformed as it is, cannot support itself, may date its destiny in times remote from these, when rising from its riches, amidst all the pomps and vanities of the world, was first seen the cloud that now glooms over its altars.

I have stated the revenue, the numbers, the qualities of the catholic priesthood. I now come to their divisions and distinctions.

The catholic clergy of France may be said to be divided into three classes; for the late revolution, to which all have submitted, can hardly be said to have produced another.

1. The *Clergé assermenté*, i. e. the clergy still remaining who took the oath of the constitution of 1789, who are necessarily few at the present time.

2. The Gallican clergy, the body the most numerous.

3. The *clergé ultra-montain*, the sect now most popular and fashionable. (1)

Among the most celebrated of the ultra-montainists, distinguished for his eloquence, his zeal, and his "Essay on Indifference," is the Abbé de la Mennais.

"I was sitting one day," said a friend of mine to me, "in the bureau of the *Avenir* (a religious journal), waiting for one of the editors of that paper, when a little man came in, and sat himself shiveringly down before the small fire, from which I was endeavouring, in no very happy mood, to extract some kind of consolation. Small, plain, and ill-dressed, with large green spectacles, and an immense nose, timid, awkward, there was nothing at first sight very interesting either in the manner or the appearance of my acquaintance. I spoke, however; he spoke; and in speaking his air became more firm and decided—his features assumed a new cast—his eye lit up—thought, suffering, compressed passion, were visible in his countenance—and his whole person swelled out as it were, into more spiritual

(1) See Appendix, under head of Religion.

and imposing proportions. 'Monsieur l'abbé!' said my friend, entering just at the moment that my eye was fixed on a print opposite. The print was that of the Abbé de la Mennais,—the person I had been talking to was the Abbé de la Mennais himself.'

At St. Malo, in Brittany, in 1782, of a family in the middle classes in life (merchants fitting out ships), was born Félicité Robert de la Mennais. His early years were spent in the house of an uncle, who lived a retired country life, in the midst of a large library, to which the young student had frequent recourse. Every style of composition, poetry, prose, plays, history, religious tracts, were all, at this time, devoured with an equal literary avidity.

At the age of the passions, however, books were laid aside; and for some years the follies of an ardent temperament preceded the pieties of repentance.

At last, this eloquent man appeared—the priest of the restoration; supposed by some a proselyte from divine grace, by others a hypocrite from worldly ambition, but acknowledged by all to possess singular ability.

If I have paused thus long on the portrait of M. de la Mennais, it is not because this person was the former champion of the Pope, but because within a few months from the period at which I am writing, he has endeavoured to give christianity new doctrines, to breathe into catholicism a new spirit, to fashion it, according to the ideas of his epoch, into a new form, to raise up a democratic religion full of energy, and life and passion, in face of the spectral majesty of mitred Rome.

Never was work so popular as that pamphlet called "*Les paroles d'un Croyant*," (1)—never was work so popular in France,—and why? M. de la Mennais has wished to make the catholic religion in France what he has found society in France. He has wished to nourish it with that sap which has insinuated itself into every other feeling, opinion, and institution. He has wished to give that spirit of equality to his creed which he has found every where, but which springs whence?—from an equality of position connected, in a great degree, with an equality of possessions.

(1) It is impossible to give any idea of the literary art and eloquence of this production but by a reference to it.

The religion which once taught obedience to the magnates of the earth has endeavoured to accommodate itself to the laws which have banished from France these magnates, and we find a catholic minister flaunting a republican flag before the eyes of a church, the high-priest of which is, at this moment, supported by the bayonets of kings.

Some christians may blame the attempt! Let all turn their faces from its execution.

" And I was transported in spirit into the ancient time; and the earth was beautiful, rich, and fertile; and its inhabitants lived happily, because they lived as brothers.

" And I saw the serpent glide in amongst them; he fixed on many his powerful eye, and their soul was troubled, and they approached one another, and the serpent whispered into their ear.

" And the sun paled, and the earth took a funereal hue, as that of the winding-sheet which envelopes the dead.

" There was heard a deep murmur, a longer plaint, and every one trembled in his heart.

" In truth, I do say unto you, it was as the day on which the abyss broke down its barriers, and the wide waters of the deluge burst forth.

" And fear went from cabin to cabin—for as yet there were no palaces,—and she said to each those secret things that make the blood run cold.

" And they who had said, ' we are kings, ' took up a sword and followed her from cabin to cabin.

" And there there passed strange mysteries: there were chains, and weeping, and blood.

" And men were terrified, and cried ' Murder has appeared in the world,' and this was all :—for fear had palsied their soul, and taken the movement from their arm.

" And they allowed themselves to be loaded with irons, they, and their wives, and their children. And the men who said, ' We are kings,' hollowed out, as it were, a vast cavern, and entombed all the human race therein, as animals are bound up in their stalls.

" And the winds drove the clouds before them, and I heard a voice amidst the thunder, that said ' The serpent has vanquished again, but, not for ever.'

" After that I heard nothing but confused voices, and laughs, and sobs, and blasphemies.

"And I understood that Satan was to reign before God; and I wept, and I hoped.

"And the vision that I saw was true; for the reign of Satan is accomplished also; and those who said, 'we are kings,' shall, in their turn, be inclosed in the cavern with the serpent, and the human race shall come forth therefrom, and to that race it shall be as another birth, as a passage from death to life;—so be it!"

Far be it from me to applaud the wild reveries and the mystic imaginings of M. de la Mennais,—execrated here as an apostate, worshipped there as an apostle! Let it be for those who lick the feet of royal authority one day, to rant forth all the wildest ravings, to administer to all the most ignorant desires and darkest passions of democracy the next!

A VISION.

1. There was a vast plain—a plain such as that which modern seers have seen of late days in their dreams.

2. And around this plain were seven high thrones, and around the thrones stood the great and powerful of the earth.

3. And by them were placed vast urns, containing all those beautiful and lustful things which have been called "the vanities of the world."

4. And, ever and anon, the figures placed on these thrones, holding swords in their hands, and wearing crowns on their heads, took from the vases, and gave to such as stood by.

5. And many pressed towards the thrones to share in the gifts.

6. And in the middle of the plain might be heard a deep but stifled murmur coming from the crowd, which said, "there should be a change in all this."

7. And by one of the thrones you might have seen a little man with a bright eye, who carried his head upon his shoulder, as if it had been the sacrament, and who, in walking, lifted up his feet high in the air.

8. And he cried unto such of the crowd as were near him, "Why do ye murmur?"

9. And the crowd said, "We murmur because there are

guards who keep us from yonder thrones, where our cries ought to be heard."

10. And the little man said, "Those guards are Cæsar's, and the Lord said, 'Let there be unto Cæsar his guards.'—Why do ye murmur?"

11. And the crowd said, "The monarchs on yonder thrones say they are our masters, and we wish to tell them how they may rule over us, and make us happy."

12. And the little man said, "Cover your face, and stifle your voice; for the Lord has said your happiness is not of this world, and you must obey blindly those whom God, even your God, hath set over you."

13. And lo! and behold the sky was suddenly darkened, and you heard the flap of the tempest's wings.

14. And when the sun came again, six of the thrones still rocked and shook, and there was fear in the face of the legions who guarded them with spear and with shield.

15. And the seventh throne, the throne near which the little man had been standing, was tumbled down, utterly down, and all its guards and all its parasites were gone.

16. But where this throne had stood there was another throne, and this throne the people approached.

17. And the king who sat on the new throne held in his hand an olive branch, as the king on the old throne had held a sword; but the people were nearer the new king and the new throne than they had been to the old king and the old throne; for there are few things but are seen to most advantage from afar off.

18. So the people began to murmur even louder than before, and, lifting up their voices on high, they said:—

19. "The Lord destroyed one throne by the tempest, and man has built up another; shall we not destroy that also?"

20. And, strange to conceive, the little man who would not let the people approach unto the old throne, because it was Cæsar's, now cried out and said:—

21. "People, the Lord hath hurled down one throne;—blessed be the Lord!—

22. "People! the thrones which you now see are the thrones of Cæsar; and the Lord said, 'Hurl down the thrones of Cæsar.'—Blessed be the Lord!"

23. And the people, who had formerly called the little man a fool, now called the little man a prophet.

24. And from the vases which had been overturned they took out large handsfull, not of gold or of silver, or of precious stones, but of pœans, and hymns, and praises, and they showered them on the head of the little man.

25. And the little man, gorgeous with the vanities of the world, cried out and said :—

" I am the man of God."

PROTESTANTISM.

CHAPTER VII.

The French Protestants—Protestant Population—Payment of the State to the Protestant Religion—" Institution of Public Utility"—Protestant Churches—The Calvinist Church—Nomination of the Clergy—Attention to the Poor—The Lutheran Church—Mixed Marriages—Education—Protestant Dissenters—Annual Conferences—Catholic and Protestant Pastors. (1)

THE French protestants are called calvinists and lutherans; (2) but the calvinists profess few of the doctrines of Calvin, and the lutherans few of the doctrines of Luther.

The confession of faith belonging to the old French reformed church has lost its force, (3) and no promise or profession as to his dogmas is exacted from the minister on ordination. So little difference, indeed, divides the different protestant communities, that it is generally wished to sink all differences in the

(1) I beg to acknowledge my obligation to the eloquent and excellent Mr. Cockerell for most of the facts which this chapter contains.

(2) The lutherans are chiefly in Alsace—the calvinists scattered throughout France.

(3) Not more than ten priests, says Mr. Cockerell, would be found to sign it.

common title, adopted in Germany, of "Evangelic;" and although different administrative differences interfere at present with such a union, it is not unusual to see lutherans preach from calvinist, and calvinist from lutheran, pulpits. Instances, indeed, exist of what are called "*Églises mixtes*," where one pastor presides over the two communions, while the holy table is alternately served with bread and with the wafer.

POPULATION.

The protestants may be reckoned at something more than a million, though that is the figure officially given, and there are many reasons to suppose they are on the increase; but though hanged in reality in 1762, and in effigy in 1767, persecution has not produced all its legitimate effects, and they are still less numerous than at the edict of Nantes.

SALARY AND STATE SUPPORT.

The payment of the state to the protestant religion is always voted without opposition.

The salary is 12 or 1500, or 2000 francs, according to the population of the clergyman's residence; at Paris 3000 francs are given.

Beyond this, there is no legal demand for any function which the priest is called upon to perform: all acts and extracts from the consistorial register are delivered also free of expense.

The body of the religious edifice is maintained by the state, but the service is defrayed, sometimes by funds belonging to a particular church, and derived from legacy; more generally by subscriptions.

A parsonage or presbytery is usually found in the rural districts by the commune. In the great towns, the department or the town commonly votes an allowance for lodging, and an additional subsidy, amounting to about the same sum, is accorded by the budget.

There is no retiring pension specially allotted for the priest, prevented by sickness or old age from continuing his duties, but in such case he is allowed to have a "suffragant," (1) who is

(1) What we should call curate or assistant.

sometimes paid by himself, sometimes by the consistory, and sometimes, though not frequently, by the state.

There exists at Bordeaux a society of clergymen engaged to afford mutual succour to the widows and orphans of the church, and since the revolution of July it has been allowed, by the title of "Institution of Public Utility," to receive legacies.

CHURCHES.

The churches are furnished either by the government, or the towns and communes, or by the religious communities themselves, in which case a certain allowance is given them by the state or department. (1)

But the greatest number of congregations want a place of worship; offering up their prayers in the open air, or in some barn or grange, according to the season.

No where are the seats let; every place is open to the first occupant.

In many places the protestant was formerly a catholic church, now given up by the towns as no longer useful to its original possessors.

L'Oratoire at Paris is one of these, and was granted to the protestants in lieu of St. Thomas du Louvre, pulled down in order to enlarge the "Place du Carrousel."

The sacrifice was a great one; for the government had used this church (*l'Oratoire*) as a place of deposit for the decorations of the opera!

There are a few, and a very few, places in Alsace, where, as in many parts of Prussia, the same building is consecrated to the catholic and protestant service; but this would be altogether impossible in the greatest part of France.

DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CALVINIST CHURCH.

The Calvinist church is divided into consistorial churches and sections.

The consistorial church has a *chef-lieu*, where sit *les anciens*, or elders, who, with the pastors, form a consistory.

(1) They are sometimes hired—sometimes lent.

The president of the consistory is always the oldest of the pastors in the consistorial circumscription.

The sections are churches at a certain distance from the *chef-lieu*.

The law has only authorized provincial synods composed of deputies from a certain number of consistories, and has not re-established the ancient general synod of the French reformed church. But even the provincial synods have never yet assembled.

From this it results that the Calvinist church in France has neither centre nor head, and that every consistory is absolute and independent in itself.

In the rural districts, however, the different pastors live so far apart from one another, that even a consistory is rarely formed, and of course in these cases the pastors themselves are responsible to no superior authority.

The sections have sometimes a sort of subordinate consistory of their own, not recognised by the law, but established among themselves; the persons forming them, now under the title of elders, now under that of deacons, belong to the central and official consistory. (1)

NOMINATION.

The clergy are named by the consistories, on an absolute majority of votes taken by ballot, and the nomination is afterwards confirmed by the king. But in the important sections the consistory of the sections designates a choice to the general or official consistory.

ATTENTION TO THE POOR.

In the principal districts there is, besides the consistory, a body under it, more or less numerous, as it may happen, and composed of deacons (*diacres*), and presided by pastors, who exclusively occupy themselves with the poor.

This body (*diacorat*) in Paris consists of forty or fifty, and contains five or six physicians.

The administration of the institution is excellent. A general

(1) The practice of these regulations depends necessarily upon the locality to which they are submitted.

meeting takes place every month, and a committee every week. The pastors preside the two meetings.

In the committee, the poor are received, questioned, and relieved; but, unless they are well known, no relief is given until a domiciliary visit has taken place.

DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The organization of that part of the protestant church, professing the confession of Augsbourg, is a little different from that of the Calvinists which I have been describing.

It has—

1. A general consistory.
2. A directory.
3. An inspection.
4. A consistory.

The general consistory has little more than a nominative and formal authority. The directory alone has a real authority; which, however, is sometimes but rarely opposed by the consistories and the pastors.

There exists more order and regularity in the arrangements of the Lutheran; more independence in the arrangements of the Calvinist community; while the advantages attached to the followers of Luther are partly caused, and partly increased, by that body being less disseminated through the country.

Among the calvinists, on the contrary, it is usual to find one pastor preaching in five or six churches, at a distance of some leagues from each other, so that each church has a sermon but once in five or six weeks by the clergyman; on the other weeks it is read by (the *lecteur chantre*) the clerk.

In Saintonge there are 45,000 protestants who have only ten pastors; and the pastor of Arras has a community which extends over seventy-five communes.

PRAYER-BOOK.

The prayer-book in use with the calvinists, or reformed church, is that of Geneva, reprinted with some few new prayers.

The lutherans have their own prayer-books.

SACRAMENT.

The sacrament is celebrated four times a-year: at Christmas, at Easter, at Pentecost, and the last Sunday in September, or the first in October.

In the villages and small churches every protestant assists at the communion. In great towns, attendance on these solemn occasions is rare: still, it is to be observed, that the practice has of late become more frequent, and last Easter there were as many as 2,500 persons (lutherans and calvinists) who partook of the sacrament in Paris. (1)

BAPTISM.

Baptism is usual at quitting the church after service, but is also performed at any day or hour in the week, at the request of parents. It must be, however, always in the church, except in cases of severe illness.

The family may name a godfather or godmother, as they think proper, and no difficulty is made as to such persons being catholics.

MARRIAGES.

Mixed marriages are very rare in the country; more common, though still rare, in the great towns, but frequent in Paris—where three-fourths of the protestant marriages are of this description.

Strange to say—

When the husband is a catholic and the wife a protestant, every preference in the choice of that religion, which shall consecrate the civil contract, and which shall govern the children's lives, is given to the protestant church.

But when the husband is a protestant and the wife a catholic, the contrary takes place.

The system of giving the sons the religion of the father, and the daughters the religion of the mother, is sometimes practised, but more generally renounced, and it is considered best to have but one religion in the family.

(1) It is very rare for persons sick or dying to receive it in their own houses.

It may be observed, that the protestants are in general, whether male or female, more fervid in their faith than the catholics, and more marriages, therefore, take place between a catholic husband and a protestant wife, as consistent with the forms I have remarked, than between a protestant husband and a catholic wife.

EDUCATION.

In respect to education, the protestants complain of the effects of the law proposed by M. Guizot (a protestant), because the protestant schools have been absorbed in the communal schools, which, taken from the schools of the majority, are now paid and supported by the public. I confess that, to me, these complaints appear perfectly unjust; wherever there is a protestant minister, he forms one of the council; nor is there any religious instruction given in such schools at all affecting the tenets of the scholars.

DISSENTERS.

France has her protestant dissenters, anabaptists, and methodists, as well as England.

But the protestant dissenters have neither the wealth, the numbers, nor the intelligence, of that large class amongst ourselves, who indeed only found their way to the continent after the peace of 1814.

Ever since that time, however, they have made great progress, and, with the zeal for which they are elsewhere remarkable, propagated their chapels of ease, which frequently stand side by side with the protestant churches, throughout most of the provinces; making continual proselytes, especially among the women.

Their doctrines are those of the Athanasian creed, containing a belief in the supremacy of faith over works, and a literal construction of divine inspiration.

Some few clergymen of the protestant reformed establishment are said to lean towards these principles; but as the methodists contend for a separation of church and state, and the clergymen of the protestant establishment receive very unscrupulously a salary from the state, it is to be presumed that the differences of a spiritual nature, which exist, are not less powerful than this difference of a more temporal description.

The methodists have two societies: one called *La Société Évangélique*, the object of which is "to spread christianity through the world by every means which God has placed at their disposition;" the other, called *La Société Biblique*, which sells to all persons (except those of the national protestant church,) bibles 50 per cent. cheaper than they can purchase elsewhere.

There are in Paris—Swiss, American, and English, as well as French methodist chapels, where the sacrament is now (this was not the case two or three years ago) delivered.

CONFERENCES.

Mr. Cockerell, in 1833, as well for the purpose of introducing unity into the national church as for remedying any grievances that affect it, proposed annual conferences at Paris, which have been acceded to by the lutheran and calvinist clergy; and, as the circular in which these assemblies were announced is rare and interesting, I subjoin it.

"Les pasteurs et députés des Églises, présents à Paris, pour les séances des sociétés religieuses, et réunis en conférence fraternelle le mercredi 24 avril 1833, dans la salle du consistoire du Temple de l'Oratoire, sont unanimement convenus:—

"1. Que dorénavant, chaque année, le jour de l'assemblée générale de la société biblique, à neuf heures du matin, les pasteurs-adjoints, et pasteurs suffragants des églises nationales des deux communions évangéliques, et les députés laïques de ces églises, se réuniront en conférence fraternelle.

"2. Que ces conférences s'ouvriront par une prière solennelle.

"3. Que la séance continuera sous la présidence du doyen d'âge des pasteurs par la nomination, au scrutin secret, d'un président et d'un secrétaire qui entreront immédiatement en fonctions.

"4. Que ces séances reprendront tous les jours à la même heure.

"5. Que le procès-verbal ou le résumé des conférences sera lithographié ou imprimé, et envoyé à toutes les églises et à tous les pasteurs en France.

"6. Que les pasteurs des deux églises de Paris formeront un comité, qui entrera en correspondance avec les consistoires et les pasteurs, leur donnera information de la présente résolution, et préparera, autant que possible, le travail et les objets à mettre en délibération."

It cannot but be interesting for us protestants, now meditating a reform in our establishment, to cast a retrospective glance over the pages I have just concluded.

In the discussion of the Irish church, Mr. D. Damer stated the whole income of the catholic priesthood in France at the amount given in the budget, supposing that the revenue of that body was solely confined to the contributions of the state; whereas the *casuel*, or fees and donations, usually double the catholic priest's allowance.

Not so, however, with the protestant pastor. His salary—*and he is married*—is not above 60 *l.* a-year. On this he contrives to render himself, his family, and his religion, beloved and respected; nor do I know of a protestant clergyman in France who might not almost be cited as a model of learning, industry, and humility, to the rest of his brethren throughout Europe.

We neither find him a libertine in one parish, nor a fanatic in the other. Sedulous in the maintenance and propagation of his own faith, he does not predict the fall of his country, because an equal aid and protection is afforded to the religion of his catholic fellow-citizen.

In the organization of his church he is not subjected to the dominion of a religious hierarchy, named by court favour; the rule over him is that of the elders of his faith, consecrated by age and a long character of piety for their sacred office. Neither is he alien to the flock whose spiritual guidance he undertakes.

Paid by the state, but chosen by the congregation, he is the faithful subject of the one, and the beloved guide and father of the other.

He does not receive a splendid income in order that his duty should be performed by another for a beggarly stipend; and, instead of disputing the *quarta pars* with the pauper, he contrives, out of his pinching income, to provide for the wants of charity, and to dedicate part of his time to the administration of the poor.

In short, the protestant French clergyman resembles the protestant English curate, and would be worthy ten times what he receives, if the honour, in which he is held by his humble followers, did not almost as much proceed from his contempt of the wealth of this world, as from his pious covetousness after the riches of another.

NEW PHILOSOPHIES.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Trial of Enfantin—The Creed of the St. Simonians—Picturesque Apostle—Life and Doctrine of St. Simon himself—Comparison between St. Simon and his followers—Enfantin's departure for the East.

On the 8th of April, 1833, "the Father Enfantin" and Michel Chevalier were brought to the bar.

The first appeared remarkable for the elegance of his costume, and the gravity of his countenance.

Over his shoulders was thrown a rich velvet mantle, fringed with ermine; boots of a singular and graceful shape covered his leg as far as the knee; a beautiful cachemire, twisted round his neck, fell over his breast; and his long beard was arranged with the sacred care that should preside over the toilet of an apostle.

And lo! upon his fantastic followers, (1) polished and brilliant, glitters the mysterious collar, formed of steel, and composed of rings, triangular, oval, or round, according to the ideas of the wearer; for each ring is a token and a sign;—and in the midst of such strange cabala shines the semi-spheric symbol, representing the Father, inscribed—

TO THE MOTHER. (2)

Such is the description of one of those singular spectacles which took place in Paris during the years 1832, 1833, at which period figured a set of men, not such fools as in England

(1) As for Michel Chevalier, he was shaved and dressed like a plain Parisian.

(2) Un autre signe brille au milieu de plusieurs autres—c'est celui qui représente le Père Enfantin. Ce signe est d'une demi-sphère, dont la face porte ces mots gravés en relief:—

A LA MÈRE.

they were supposed to be, not such philosophers as they ridiculously described themselves to be. These visionaries preached a religion peculiarly adapted, as they dreamt, to their country and their time, but which was, in fact, opposed to all the deep-seated and eternal principles which, in every time and in every country, are at the head, and at the root, and in the vigour, and in the mystery of human nature.

It was in the year previous to the trial I have quoted from, that the law first took notice of these theatrical Theosophists.

"It is some time," said the advocate-general, in opening his case, "since there has been formed at Paris a sect calling itself St. Simonian. Its chiefs have announced the intention to create a new religion, and to change the first principles on which society now reposes. (1)

(1) I continue the procureur-général's act of accusation in a note, since it explains the views of the Government in respect to the persons in question:—

"According to them, property is an evil which it has become a duty to extirpate—a privilege which should disappear, as slavery, serfship, and feudal rights have disappeared before it.

"Property is no longer to follow the course of descent, from father to son, but to be held in common, and distributed to each individual according to his merit. The sovereign distributors of all wealth are to be the ministers of this new worship—a very comfortable, though mayhap a very disinterested, office, let me meekly observe, in any community.

"The superiority which, according to existing laws, the male exercises over the female in certain cases is, according to the St. Simonians, another abuse to which it is equally necessary to put an end.

"Hence new precepts in respect to marriage, divorce, and the different relations between man and woman.

"In order to publish these doctrines and gain proselytes to their opinions, this new sect have printed pamphlets, bought and conducted at their expense the newspaper called the Globe, and established correspondences in every part of France, and in the different parts of Europe.

"At Paris rooms have been opened, where they have taught and preached.

"It is in expectation of the time when this religion is to become universally predominant, and its ministers, the depositaries and the dispensators of the world's riches, that Bartholemy Prosper Enfantin, calling

The grounds of accusation against Enfantin, the father of this sect, and his disciples, were:—

1st. The forming an illegal association.

2nd. The fraudulently attempting to mislead the public in

himself supreme chief of the St. Simonian religion, and Olivier Rodrigues, styled chief of this same creed, have made an appeal for funds to the public.

"'Bring to St. Simon,' have they said in their writings, 'bring to him, who lays a moral foundation for the power of wealth, a part of your wealth, whether it be under the title of loan or gift, as may accord with your strength and love. I shall receive all with pleasure, and account for it with honour.' And, on this demand, sums were given and lent by different persons, and received without any formality or legal authorisation by the chiefs of the St. Simonian faith.

"Moreover, an act of association has been drawn up, by which all those who enter into this society are declared to associate themselves, whether collectively or as a body; and to bring, as to a common stock, any goods that they are or may be possessed of. This body has indeed proceeded so far as to announce the creation of a stock, of which inscriptions have been sold; and it is calculated that nearly 300,000 francs (12,000 *l.*) has already passed into their hands.

"A complaint has been made by a widow named Robinet, formerly the wife of a notary at Meaux. This lady therein declares that her husband, being ill, was surrounded by the St. Simonians; that they persuaded him to be transported to a house belonging to their association—that they severed him from all the members of his family, and that thus, profiting by his state of illness, abandonment, and obedience, they determined him to make a will, appointing one of the St. Simonian chiefs his universal legatee; in proof of which the widow Robinet gave into court her husband's will, in which Prosper Enfantin was appointed to the office above named."

Enfantin acknowledged having no other acquaintance with Robinet than that which arose from his being at the head of the St. Simonian religion; and confessed to his having attended Robinet, in his last moments, as head and minister of that faith; contending merely that Robinet was transported by his own desire to the establishment where he had died, and that the disposition of his property had arisen from no unjustifiable means of persuasion.

regard to their enterprise; and thereby obtaining money under false pretences.

3rd. The fraudulently obtaining a testamentary disposition.

4th. Offences against public morals, arising from the tenor of the works professing to explain their doctrines.

The verdict was, guilty, and the sentence accompanying it, twelve months' imprisonment.

It would be easy to show, that if a gentleman were bent upon enriching himself at the expense of his neighbours, he would not, in the position assumed by Enfantin, find himself in a situation foreign to his acquisitive dispositions.

Guardian of the purse of all true believers, sole judge of merit, sole rewarder of it, and, *ex-officio*, the most meritorious of his tribe, I can conceive no situation that would have been more congenial to honest Jonathan Wild, than that of high-priest of the St. Simonians, as long as St. Simonians there were —ready to subscribe to the common fund—and to be paid according to their deserts by the father of the faith.

Let us confess more! nothing was so likely as, for a superficial observer of mankind, to imagine that the doctrines set forth in the Enfantinian prayer-book were well calculated to catch disciples, and thereby obtain the management of their resources.

The main difference between the creed of the philosophers of Menilmontant, and that which we revere as Christians, was the different duty inculcated in respect to the flesh. Mortify it, said Jesus :—Consult it, and indulge it, said the mountain's gracious and agreeable apostles.

It is easy to systematize the most fanciful theories; and these preachers of strange things had regularized theirs into chronological divisions.

"Every step that humanity takes," said Michel Chevalier, in his exposition of St. Simonism, "is a progress."

"Progress is the passage from an old state of things to a new state of things by the destruction of the old.

"Progress has always taken place by two alternate movements: the movement of construction and association, or the epoch organic and religious; the movement of destruction and dissociation, or the epoch critical and irreligious.

"It is thus that humanity, advancing step by step, from a

system primitive and incomplete, has arrived at a system definitive and complete."

"*This complete system*" (I quote from M. M. Chevalier) "is that of the St. Simonians."

Life, say these gentlemen, has two aspects, distinct yet united —an aspect material—an aspect spiritual. The destiny of humanity is to develope these two faces of its existence.

First one, then the other, then both together.

In the primeval era of the world, and down to the time of our Lord, the material aspect ruled: matter then was the organic principle—spiritualism the critical principle.

The religion of Christ established spiritualism as the organic principle;—matter then became the critical principle; and matter, as represented by Descartes and Voltaire, triumphed over spiritualism represented by the church.

Such was the state of things up to the time of St. Simon; who was destined to unite the two principles into ONE, capable of comprehending both.

This is the last phase of society, the epoch of general association: the epoch which shall unite materialism and immaterialism, and put an end to the long contest between the flesh and the spirit.

At this epoch it becomes a duty as much to decorate the person as to ornate the mind; as much to gratify the senses as to elevate the soul.

Happy and delightful period! when the sage shall retire to meditate with equal fervour on the flow of a garment, or the force of an opinion—when society shall be assorted according to its capacities, and every member of it pleased according to his passions!

I still remember being seated one morning, with a lady of my acquaintance, when the door suddenly opened, and a young man with a long beard and a bare neck, and a little kind of petticoat on, tramped into the room at much the same kind of pace that children use in playing at soldiers.

This was the first genuine St. Simonian I had seen, and I sat in quiet curiosity as to what was to happen.

The young gentleman was an apostle, and, as one of the best-looking among his brethren, sent by the Father Enfantin to

convert my pretty acquaintance. The object of the visit made it still more interesting to me.

The apostle sat down, and put himself as much as possible in the position of a man who is sitting for his picture.

"Sir," said the lady, "I have read most of your pamphlets; they are very well written. I have seen your high-priest, he is a very fine-looking man. I have little property to lose, and people tell me I have considerable talent. We agree then, entirely, as to every one resigning his property, and being paid according to his capacity; there are only one or two little matters on which I wish to acquire further information.

"I hear that we are to have no husbands; that we are to feel no affection for our children; and that, in order to destroy houses of ill-fame, a most laudable project, you intend to make every one fit to go into them."

"Madam, permit me! I will explain to you our doctrine. We consider families, as you rightly observe, to be an antiquated invention; all parental affection will cease as soon as you establish a more free and more promiscuous intercourse between the sexes. Mothers will not know the fathers of their children; children will not know their own progenitors, and from this happy incertitude will arise a general affection—for what man will know whether his enemy is not his own son or his own father?

"But do not mistake us—we do not forbid constancy, we only do not preach it. If you, madam, are of a constant nature, you will only go on changing till you find a gentleman of a constant nature also.

"Different people have different constitutions. The business of the Father is to assort his disciples together, to suit their connection to their disposition. Some men can be constant for a year;—the man that can be constant for a year should be united to the woman, if such a woman is to be found, who can be so long constant. There should be marriages for months, weeks, and days, and then people would go on happily for the months, weeks, and days that they cohabited together.

"But children, when not accepted by society, are a tie upon the roving dispositions—that is, upon the natural pleasures of the parents. This is a crucifixion of the flesh; a cruelty and a slavery inconsistent with the age of intelligence and gratification

in which we live. We say to parents then—'the community shall have charge of your children.'

"Such are our ideas, madam, ideas so simple, so natural, so excellent, so moral, that it always surprises me when any one can be found to differ from them. Such are our ideas: but ideas of the man are after all but precursory in respect to the woman. She, the woman, will herself shortly appear. Madam, you are very beautiful and charming—why will you not be the woman?"

"Sir, you are exceedingly obliging, I will give the matter my serious consideration—How is the Father?"

"The Father, madam, is very busy at the present moment. In the first place, he is occupied with the difference of brother Bazard; in the next, he wishes exceedingly that his collar (here the apostle touched a part of his vest) should if possible be rendered more graceful."

Such was the language of this picturesque philosopher, whose aspect was certainly far more convincing than his eloquence.

Let me now turn to St. Simon!

In 1825, perishing from hunger, in a garret, died this extraordinary man, related to the famous Duke, whose Memoirs we are acquainted with—uncle to the Count de St. Simon, late minister in Sweden, and descended from the Dukes de Vermandois, peers of Charlemagne.

Mahomet could not boast of a life more full of action and adventure.

In 1760 he entered, at the age of seventeen, into the military service, and served five campaigns in America, with the rank of colonel. "Descartes," he says in his works, "was a soldier before he was a philosopher:—he was brave in the field, and daring in his studies."

This quotation he wished to be applied to himself. But the constitution of America struck him more forcibly than the war which secured it. "I was not born," he remarks, "to be a great captain; my mind was framed for a different species of activity;" and though he so far retained the habits of a camp, as to have been no less known throughout life as a duellist than a philanthropist, he soon gave up the career of arms, and devoted himself to—what he conceived—the cause of perfection and civilization.

The revolution of America struck him in the same manner that it struck Paine—as the commencement of an era in which the energies and destinies of the human race were to take a new development; and, separating himself from the subversive system of the revolution of 89, he directed all his thoughts to the reconstruction of society, on a different foundation from that which had been destroyed.

Nor did he proceed without a plan!

The thirty-four years prior to the publication of *Le Nouveau Christianisme* were thus divided:—

Seven years he allowed to the acquisition of pecuniary means—seven to the acquisition of metaphysical and scientific knowledge—ten to a philosophical—ten to a political renovation.

Pursuant to this course, he entered in 1770 into a commercial association with Count Redern, the gains of which were immense; and, separating himself from his colleague, St. Simon commenced the second part of his project.

And now, in order to pursue his studies with greater advantage, he established himself successively opposite the *École de Médecine* and the *École Polytechnique*. His house, his table, his purse, were prodigally open to every professor, or experimentalist, in science. (1)

"Money!" said he to a physician, "is money what you want to prosecute your discovery? here is money!" And he was known to have given to different individuals as much as 100,000 francs (4000 *l.*) at a time. (2)

It is easy to imagine that no fortune could long resist so princely a disposition; and from the donor to science, this benevolent if mistaken man soon became the petitioner in its favour. It was then that the speculative philosopher, whose abilities every one had hitherto acknowledged, sunk into the *charlatan*, whose reveries every one despised.

This sudden turn of opinion, of which he was much too artless

(1) It was during this time that he published *Les Lettres au bureau de Longitude—Les Lettres sur l'Encyclopédie—L'Introduction aux Travaux Scientifiques du dix-neuvième Siècle—Les Mémoires sur la Gravitation, etc., etc.*

(2) M. Poisson, the celebrated geometrist, was known to be one of the favourite pupils of St. Simon.

to perceive the cause, persuaded St. Simon, for a moment, that he had mistaken both his calling and his genius; and, with the energy of his character, he immediately discharged a pistol at his head; which, though it miserably lacerated him, did not put an end to his existence.

Shortly afterwards *The New Christianity* was published; in which work, passing beyond his former theories, and taking them as the bases of his assertion, he proclaimed the impossibility of establishing any general system except upon a "Sentiment of religion."

The last days of this unhappy enthusiast were passed in an honourable state of misery, which it is difficult not to feel for, as one considers the disinterestedness of his conduct.

"For a fortnight," says he not long before his death, "I have ate nothing but bread, and drank nothing but water. I am writing in the depth of winter without a fire; and I have just sold my coat in order to pay for the copy of my work. It is my passion for science and the public weal—it is my burning and unquenchable desire to deliver humanity, by some gentle process, from the errors in which it finds itself, that makes me support my distress with courage, and deprives me of any shame in acknowledging it."

I confess that, upon the memory of such a person, ridiculous and erroneous as I deem his opinions, I pause with a certain respect.....

The writings of St. Simón are the writings of a man of no common powers, but of a man who lacked that kind of practical intuition, the want of which separated Shelley from Byron in poesy, Plato from Aristotle in politics and philosophy. It is no use dreaming for mankind, if mankind is never to awake and find your visions true.

Different, however, from similar theorists who have preceded and succeeded him, St. Simon did not imagine that his doctrines were to change the world, but that the world was of itself passing into a change which would render his doctrines admissible and true.

He did not so much pretend to create as to foresee.

The founder of many theories, which, as they were subsequently systematized, became more ridiculous in being brought out more clearly, he was as far behind his disciples in absurdity

and pretension, as he went beyond them in originality and intelligence.

St. Simon, in the first place, though impressed with the idea that a new social system was to be formed, does not seem so convinced of the necessity of a totally new creed.

He attacks the high-priests of Rome, not because they were the supreme pastors of the Catholic church, but because they had not for centuries properly fulfilled their mission. He does not excite the people against the representatives of St. Peter; but he blames the representatives of St. Peter for not being in alliance with the people. He does not wish there to be no pope; but he wishes the pope to be a philosophic philanthropist.

He says that the civilization of a people is to be judged by the social situation of woman; but he no where preaches the marvellous liberation of female kind.

He says that the profits of the capitalist, at the expense of the workman, go on gradually decreasing; but he says no where that a time will arrive when there shall be no capitalists. He says that the privileges of birth have been daily losing their importance; but he does not say that all the privileges of birth are entirely to cease, and that a man is to have no other family than society at large. He had the idea of making the labourer a sort of public functionary; but he had no idea of annihilating all the individuality attached to private existence.

He was a visionary and an enthusiast, but there were bounds to his enthusiasm, and a sense of decency presided over his visions.

Bazard and Enfantin announced themselves as revelators; and accepted St. Simon as their precursor.

Bazard, one of the chiefs of the French Carbonari, a man of much resolution and energy, stern and conscientious, was nevertheless under the influence of his brother prophet; who, equally inflexible, but more subtle and insinuating, contrived for a time to make his superiority and opinions generally received. But at last that *causa deterrima belli!*—woman—who has so often set philosophers and heroes by the ears, introduced an indecent and irreconcileable controversy into the council of these preachers of universal union.

"The world," said Enfantin, "has hitherto been divided into

two powers, or two families"—the power temporal—the power spiritual—the feudal family, and the papal family.

The one reposing on the succession of power by the descent of blood; the other on the succession of power by the election of merit.

Men, in their present state of intelligence, will no longer tolerate the first; but the second, founded on celibacy, though possible for a class, is impossible for a community.

The new family should neither be the feudal family, nor the papal family; but a family comprising the advantages of both.

In the papal family, incapacity could not arrive at place; in the feudal family the ties of blood connected the superior with the inferior,—the father with the child.

Now listen to St. Enfantin's admirable device!

The ceremony of confession, however practised in the Catholic church, was in theory, at all events, a mental or spiritual process. This—christianity being the religion of the spirit according to the St. Simonians—was as it should be. But St. Simonism was the religion of the flesh as well as of the spirit; the ceremony of confession was therefore to partake of the nature of the faith, and be somewhat in harmony with the flesh also.

In short, as the confession in catholicism was the communion of mind with mind, the confession of St. Simonism was to be the communion of mind with mind through the medium of the body; and all that we mean now by saying that a lady is going to the devil, we might, in the St. Simonian era, have expressed by saying that she was going to the confessional.

The sovereign pontiff then would be, by duty, bound to confess all the ladies whose superiority entitled them to such a distinction; and the sovereign priestess would have an equal obligation to perform to the eminent men whose piety led them, and whose genius entitled them, to her couch. (1)

But what the Priest-King and the Priestess-Queen did for people of the very first distinction, the priests and priestesses of

(1) It is needless to observe that no tie could be invented which would so closely bind the chief with the community, and render that term—now so frequently misapplied—strictly correct, viz.

That sovereigns are the fathers of their people.

different degrees were to do for persons of less pretensions; and certainly, when one considers that the priesthood was to be the government, one must confess that no other constitutional system ever provided for so close and constant an amalgamation of the governors and the governed.

By this ingenious contrivance, vice was to be banished from the world; there was to be no profligacy, no prostitution.

For a prostitute was honoured as a priestess, and a profligate venerable as a priest: while the St. Simonian family became, as it was intended, united by ties of consanguinity, and distinguished according to merit.

Still there was one injunction upon the priesthood, which it would be right to mention, since it must be confessed that it threw a serious impediment in the way of their duties.

Those duties were to be performed with a perfect calm.

Was it from this that High Priest Bazard dissented?—he did however dissent;—not having, in the words of the more enlightened, a mind sufficiently great and elevated to comprehend the necessity and the sublimity of this political and philosophical and sexual system of connection.

The defection of such a man as Bazard was important; but more so, was a vast diminution in proselytes—upon the announcement of those doctrines, which few, for the honour of France, were capable of appreciating.

Funds ceased to fall in, and disciples consequently increased falling off, until the sacred Enfantin, gathering his most devoted about him, retired to the solitudes of Menilmontant, where he was daily falling into a neglect and contempt, under which he would have ridiculously perished, if the government had not kindly invested him with some sort of importance by its prosecution.

The personal ascendancy which this impostor exercised was certainly of an extraordinary description. One of his followers, now sufficiently ready to ridicule his former master, has nevertheless told me a most marvellous tale of the fascinating manner with which "the father" was known to have converted two avaricious old advocates, who poured, at his bidding, their hard-earned and dearly-prized gold into the common purse; and such an impression has he left upon some of his disciples, that many

still profess to consider that there was nothing ridiculous in his trusting his defence to—his regard. (1)

There were upon the jury, however, men with hearts "impassible;"—and our modern Mahomet was condemned, as we have seen, to a year's imprisonment; at the end of which he set out for the region whence the sages of old came from, and embarked—with St. Simonism and a plan of cutting through the isthmus of Suez—for the East.

CHAPTER IX.

The sea turned into lemonade—M. C. Fourrier's system of the Four Movements—The Fourrieristes' system of Education—Those who have not found, and yet seek a religion.

However extraordinary the sect of St. Simonians, there are other philosophies, in Paris, not a whit less singular.

It may rather startle the grave and prudent people of our metropolis to hear of a sage who asserts that the sea is, in its natural process, turning into lemonade; and who logically proves that the fate of humanity, in distant generations, will be to sustain an ornament behind which it would be rather difficult to arrange with a pair of breeches.

Such, however, are among the doctrines of M. C. Fourrier, a man of great powers of mind, and who has for his disciples many of the most grave and disciplined youth of France.

It would be impossible, in the space that yet remains to me for this subject, to go at any length into the various ramifications of that system which was first announced in 1808 by "*la théorie des quatre mouvemens.*"

The basis of "Fourrierisme" is the doctrine of attraction, not merely applied to the material but to the moral world; and necessarily leading to a system of association as the natural condition of society.

(1) When called upon for his defence, Enfantin rolled his eyes round the room, and, fixing them on the jury, said : "*Que sa défense était dans son regard.*"

This, M. Fourrier believes to be alone prevented by an improper development of the passions.

His object, then, is to form mankind into associations in which their passions *will* be properly, or, as he would say, harmoniously developed.

With this view he proposes a kind of college, called a *phalangstère*, where a certain number of individuals live and labour together; and in such college, he furthermore proposes to turn the natural propensities of men, which at present so frequently lead them to injure each other, to the greatest common advantage. His plan consists chiefly in making employment a pleasure, and in gratifying our favourite inclinations in our most useful pursuits.

Considering toil to be tedious in proportion as it is monotonous, and that one of the great characteristics of human-kind is versatility—all labour is to be of short duration, and every member of a *phalangstère* is to be educated for a variety of alternate occupations.

Here too the character of the individual is to be preserved, and the economy of the community obtained; for instance, in that most important part of existence which depends on the kitchen, instead of 2,000 women being occupied in cooking the dinners of 2,000 husbands, as would be the case if these couples were living in separate cabins—fifty are to suffice for this duty, and 1950 remain at liberty to do any thing else. But with this community of cooks there is not to be any common broth: every one is to come for his own particular plate, and a *phalangstère's* kitchen is a *restaurateur's* shop;—separate, to consult the palates of each; united, to provide for the wants of all.

It may be worth while to follow M. Fourrier more closely into that part of his system where his ideas appear to most advantage, viz. the education of his disciples.

The great fault of our educationary discipline system is—that it represses all those passions and propensities which it ought to profit by and bring out.

Who is the poor creature that Dr. Such-a-one calls a good boy?

A poor sallow-faced thing, with chilblained fingers stuck into both pockets; without that animal energy that would withdraw him from his lesson, and wanting the spirit for adventure

and enterprize, which, if it lead the boy into mischief, carries the man to distinction.

The aim of the master is to macadamize the child's character down to the flattest possible level: the least little bit of originality and inequality is to be scolded or whipped out of him; and if you wish to discover who will be the greatest person in the world, you may be pretty sure, that your guess is not a bad one—if you lay your fingers on the worst lad in the school.

M. Fourrier's system is in direct contradiction to this absurd and manifest error.

He recognises, as a necessity, the natural disposition of a child in the different ages of infancy; and, instead of crushing it with severity, supplies it with materials on which to work with advantage.

The child, incapable of thought, is for ever in movement. He cries, he jumps, he breaks this thing, he dirties that, and is perpetually encountered with the command, "Be quiet, Sir!"

The Fourrieristes on the contrary say: "Be active—be restless—be what nature makes you!"

And they employ him in doing with utility that which an invisible agency teaches him to do with pleasure.

He breaks, he tears to pieces, he soils, but he does all this in such branches of industry, as make his amusements profitable instead of destructive to the society in which he lives.

Nor is this all: in the second stage of childhood, which is fixed by this sect at two years and a half or three years old, every pains is taken—not merely to satisfy the natural disposition of children—but to discover the natural bias of the child.

He is led with care through the different workshops or schoolrooms, and attention is paid to all the sympathies in which a peculiar instinct might seem to manifest itself; and thus it is, that at four years and a half, the boy generally gains his livelihood by his amusements.

After that age, a new duty arises: the happy and profitable development of the senses, which from nine to fifteen is succeeded by an equal attention to the affections.

And now, from fifteen and a half to twenty, comes the period of the passions; a period for which M. Fourrier has created two orders; one which he calls the order of the *Vestalat*, intended

for those whose animal desires are still restrained by natural feelings of chastity and reserve. (1)

Another called the *Damoisellat*, "*où tout est l'amour!*" to use the French interpretation, "*mais pas encore la paternité.*"

The philanthropist blushes before the infamy of these regulated disorders for so tender an age—and which the English reader would be rather startled to find advocated *pour le bon ordre des mœurs.*

Le Damoisellat is a substitute for prostitution and adultery; a preventive to marriage from the mere animal necessity which is afterwards followed by disgust. The serious proposal of such an infernal institution almost reconciles one to the vices it was intended to remedy;—still let in France the gallantry of proper ladies be treated leniently by society, and the frailties of improper ladies licensed by the state!

But what can be said—unless we recur to the ancient mysteries, and the female ornament that was their symbol—for those scenes in which the privacies of the marriage couch are made a public ceremony—and philosophy, forsooth, appears arranged in the shameless attire of a Parisian brothel?

Besides the two sects that I have mentioned—sects which suppose, or did suppose, that a new system of religion or religious philosophy was found—there are other sects, declaring themselves still on the search after this *ignis fatuus* of their time. "O mes contemporains," exclaims one of the most distinguished of these, "je vous vois tous en quête d'une religion, ni pour vous, ni pour votre postérité immédiate; mais chaque jour dans vos désillusionnemens, ce mot religion erre sur vos lèvres."

The author of the words I quote says that "religion is philosophy, and philosophy the science of life;"—every age, he believes, has understood human existence in a particular way, from which has proceeded a particular philosophy, generating a particular religion.

(1) But by the side of this order is another, and here again is a proof of that depravity of ideas, in respect to the sexes, which only finds its way into these visionary codes from the encouragement it meets with in the realities of life.

The character of the present epoch, he concludes, is "founded on the perfectibility of mankind—the history of science, literature, and the arts."

Hence the principles of equality and fraternity, from which are to arise a philosophy that our era will receive, and a religion that our era will recognize.

The world exhibits, according to these doctrines, a series of perpetual changes; and as there were different epochs in its material formation—epochs when it could only produce vegetables, when it subsequently produced fish, animals, and ultimately mankind—so in its moral organization there are also epochs, when the present, sown with the past, will produce a future,—not independent of preceding events, because begotten by them—not bound by preceding events, because beyond their region; and thus, if equality, and liberty, and authority have not yet been compatible with each other—they may be so; the ideas of each proceed from antiquity, their union may be the work of modern times.

"Inspirons-nous de ce désir de notre époque, et cherchons des formes nouvelles qui puissent satisfaire ses besoins." (1)

Those are equally in error, preaches this youthful sage from whom I quote, who think to establish new systems without the aid of our older chronicles—or who would circumscribe the growing desires of mankind by any ancient system inapplicable to modern days.

"You are right," says he to the catholics, "to attach yourselves to your tradition; on that tradition all subsequent theories have been founded—but do you not see, the faith which gave life to catholicism first migrated to protestantism, and then to philosophy. Why, when its young shoots have taken root in the earth, go seek the old and withered trunk? see you not that nature has conspired its ruin, that the seasons which nourished it of old now alternately assail it;—and that the worms begotten in its core are silently crumbling it to pieces?"

The error of this doctrine is in the idea on which it is founded. The condition of humanity changes, and society is, therefore, wisely subjected to a perpetual series of laws. But human na-

(1) Let us inspire ourselves with this desire of our time, and seek new forms which shall satisfy its wants.

ture itself does not change, and it is to human nature, and not the condition of humanity, that religion properly belongs.

Let people talk, if they will, of christianity appertaining to another civilization!—that creed which, at its birth, invaded the wildernesses of Africa and the groves of Greece, which in after times was equally received by the polished refinements of the East and the barbarous heroism of the West—and which, even at the moment that I write, demands new churches in the metropolis of the British Empire—is climbing the steps of the temple of the Indian Idol—and raising shrines amidst the blazing woods of America—that creed is for mankind, and not for any peculiar condition of our race;—its foundations are laid, not in our habits, but in our hearts: and after all this farrago about the history of science, literature, and the arts, and the principles of equality and fraternity which rest thereon—in what system of that modern philosophy, by which christianity, forsooth, has been or is to be absorbed, do we find the principles of equality and fraternity so firmly seated as in those very doctrines preached by Christ Jesus 1835 years ago, and which have been gaining proselytes from that year to this?

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In the earlier portion of this work I spoke of the character of the French; and so in later passages I have been able to note various instances in which that character is still displayed.

The character of a people is, no doubt, ever visible. But if the dispositions of society depend, in somewise, upon causes which are hereditary and undestructive, the organisation of society depends upon a cause which the legislature can change, and has changed in an extraordinary degree in France. Whatever relates to the propensities of that nation remains the same as formerly; whatever relates to its rights is altered.

But to make a general alteration in the rights of a people, you must make a general alteration in the condition of a people. It is not sufficient to legislate at the surface of society, you must strike at its root. In short, in order to affect the general distribution of rights, you must affect the general distribution of property.

In all the subjects of which I have just been treating, we trace the effects of this cause—which, widening the public arena, making literature more popular, religion less monarchical, has breathed into philosophical speculation a spirit of fraternity and association natural to arise in a land, the proprietors of which possess little and possess alike.

BOOK IV.

DIVISION OF PROPERTY.

"The study of truth is perpetually joined with the love of virtue; for there is no virtue which derives not its original from truth; as, on the contrary, there is no vice which has not its beginning from a lie."

Character of Polybius.—Dryden.

CHAPTER X.

Difference between France under Napoleon and England under Cromwell—The most important question in France, the division of its property—Mr. Cobbett, Jun's. ride through that country.

When Oliver Cromwell assumed the protectorship of England, one man succeeded to another. The sovereign changed, and not the country. When Napoleon declared himself Emperor of France, France was no longer the France of 1789. The revolutions that had mounted to the palace had descended to the cottage. The revolutions that had ruled the capital had traversed the provinces. As the ancient divisions of the country had been cut up into departments and arrondissements, so also the ancient properties of the country had undergone similar transformations and divisions. It was impossible for the restoration to return to the old government and the old opinions. The moral condition of France could never be the same as it had been, for its material condition had effectually and permanently altered; the government of Louis XVI. reposed on about two millions and a half of landed proprietors;—the government of Louis-Philippe has the broader basis of at least five millions.

The most important question connected with France is undoubtedly this division of property.

Many are the things that have been said for and against it—most of them very exaggerated, some very amusing.

A little book which I have once alluded to—"Ride through France by Mr. Cobbett, Jun."—bears artless testimony to the utter uselessness of personal observation.

A young gentleman, of acute mind and much practical information, sallies forth on a tour through France, in order to judge for himself of the state of that country.

Do not imagine that this young gentleman is one of your ordinary post-paying or diligence-be-darkened travellers, trusting to the breath-besmeared windows of a vehicle for the view which is to furnish the memoranda necessary for his volume.

No: more sagacious and more determined, he packs up his horse with himself, and starts, thus independently equipped, for Calais. Well; he arrives—he tells you at once the price of horse-shoeing and oats; of supper, breakfast, and dinner; and, having thus appealed to your attention, sets out earnestly and heartily on his adventures.

His object, reader, is the same as yours, if you wish, as I presume, to inquire into the state of the peasantry in that land which he has undertaken to visit. Let us, then, follow him through his desultory journal; we shall be sure to pick up some useful and practical information.

For instance:—

"These people—(the people at the Calais market)—are *well dressed:* the labourers pretty much in the same fashion as the English, with smock-frocks and trowsers made of linen stuff of a blue colour, and shoes and hats like the English. The women are strikingly uniform in their dress, and in wet weather *all wear cloaks.*"

Come, this is pretty comfortable; where are we going to, and what shall we see next?

Our traveller is in the neighbourhood of St. Omer:—

"The dress of the women, that I see at work in the fields, is coarser than that generally worn by our labourers' wives and daughters—but it exhibits *very little of that raggedness* which *now characterises the dress of so large a portion of those who earn their bread by hard work in England.*"

Let us on—

"A labourer gets from one to two francs a-day, according to his ability; journeymen carpenters, bricklayers, and the like, about the

same. The price of beef is eight sous (four-pence) the pound—*a loaf of bread the size of an English quartern*, five sous (twopence half-penny), two fowls, two francs (one shilling and eight-pence)."

I do not think an English labourer would see much in this state of things that he would not be very kindly disposed to accept.

But we are coming into a new country.

BRIARRE, PROVINCE OF GASTINOIS.

" The dress of the labouring people here is certainly *better than that of the labourers in England.*"

And again, 106:—

" The dress of the labourers in France is good. They wear, in all parts of the country that I have yet seen, a smock-frock and trowsers of a blue colour, like the dress worn by most of the labourers in the county of Sussex. The garments of the Sussex men, however, are very frequently in a state of *raggedness*, which is seldom the case with those of the *French*."

And now for a good breakfast!

" I do not see," says our traveller, " why this cabbage soup, which had plenty of bread in it, and the wine, should not be *a thousand times better for breakfast* than the *cold potatoes* and *tea* which are now so *fashionable* among the common people of England."

CHATILLON SUR INDRE, PROVINCE OF BERRI.

§ 145. " The *labouring people or peasantry* have usually *cows of their own*. Sometimes one cow, sometimes two or three cows belong to one labourer's family. They keep also pigs of their own."

Upon my word!—

167. " The bread made of rye near Tours, and which the peasantry eat, sells for *one sous and a half*—not *quite a penny*—a quartern, and *is better than our finest baker's bread.*"

210. " Some people who have been travellers in this country exclaim, *how many beggars there are in France!* There are, to be sure, a great many beggars here; but I have not seen more of them in the country parts of France, than I should have seen in England had I been

travelling in England along the same high road. I certainly did not see so many beggars in *Paris* as I have seen in *London*, and there is *this important difference* between the individual appearance of the beggars in France and England—*a very large portion of* our beggars are *neither aged nor infirm*, while in France there is scarcely *any object* of this description *that is not old*, or in some way *incapable of earning a living*."

"The greater part of the *English beggars* beg because they *cannot get employment;* and the beggars of France beg because they are *unfitted for employment*. It is the state of society in England which causes the beggar, while in France it is his inability to render society any service."

What are we inclined to think of all this? Might we not suppose that our equestrian philosopher had discovered the people of France to be better off than the people of England; and the state of society, which will not find labour for the able man, to be even worse than that which allows the disabled man to solicit support?

But hold—Mr. Cobbett is arrived in Normandy.

The people of Normandy appear to him in a far better condition than those of any part of France he has traversed.

He says very naturally—"I should like to know the reason of this." Now, as he had found the people of France better off than the people of England, and as the people of Normandy seemed to him better off than the rest of the people of France, we might expect that he would seek "this reason" in some circumstances which existed in Normandy itself, and which had nothing to do with the rest of France, and nothing to do with England.

But no: an idea suddenly strikes him, viz. that the people of Normandy fare better than the rest of the people of France, because there is some resemblance between them and the people of England, who, according to him, fare worse than the people of the rest of France. (1)

Down then with the pyramid of observations I have been

(1) He says he was told that the superior condition of Normandy is owing to the large estates which formerly existed there, and which still to a certain degree remain.

building up! Let us congratulate the unfortunate English peasant, whose melancholy face is turned hopefully to the Poor-house! he is in the best possible system, in the best possible world—and if the peasant of France be *actually better* off than himself,—by every rule of philosophy and political economy *he ought not to be so*. Happy consolation! I wish Mr. Cobbett, when he was considering the present, had turned his horse's head, for a moment, towards the past.

What was the Norman, living on milk and on raw flesh, clothed in the skin of some wild beast, the worshipper of Thor and of Woden?

What was the Norman, when the affrighted population of France murmured at their altars, *A furore Normanorum libera nos, Domine!*

What was the Norman, when he took possession of Sicily, besieged Constantinople, conquered England, and carried his fierce Leopard within the walls of Antioch and Jerusalem?

Is it not the same spirit of activity, the same cast of prudence, which the old chronicles have given him, in his days of rapine and adventure, that with the progress of society he has transplanted into the pursuits of agriculture and commerce?

The character of the Norman has been, at all times, different from that of the races with which he is now intermingled: enterprising, calculating, industrious;—not independent of circumstances certainly, but his horse is not independent of circumstances;—yet feed and exercise that horse as you will, though it shall become more or less fat—more or less sleek—and more or less active—it will be always superior to the animal which grazes in a barren paddock in Picardy, and always inferior to the barb which roves in Arabia, or the thoroughbred which runs at Newmarket.

Mr. Cobbett supposes that the custom of primogeniture prevailed exclusively in Normandy, and that the superior agricultural prosperity of Normandy is owing to the remaining effects of such custom.

There are three facts to state in opposition to this:—

First, The custom of primogeniture did not prevail all over Normandy.

Secondly, Since its abolition, the agriculture of Normandy,

which, according to Mr. Cobbett's reasoning, ought to have degenerated, has in reality most considerably improved.

" L'usage des jachères," says M. Loriol in his ' *Description géographique et statistique de la France*' lately published—"l'usage des jachères était autrefois général en Normandie, mais il se perd de jour en jour. Au commencement de ce siècle, elles pouvaient déjà être évaluées, pour le département en général, à moitié seulement du sol qu'elles occupaient de 1790 à 1792, et aujourd'hui on ne les suppose guère que du dixième des terres consacrées à la culture. (1)

Lastly, If Mr. Cobbett had given a look at those parts of Normandy in the hands of great proprietors, and those parts of Normandy which are cut up into small properties, he would have found, that if the maintenance of large estates ought to be favourable to their culture, it is still—strange to say! those very districts of Normandy the most divided which are the best cultivated. (2)

Mr. Cobbett, however, had not time for this—he was obliged to be off, leaving us and himself in a strange perplexity, which is hardly dispelled by the following sentence :—

" This (the effects of the law of primogeniture) is a subject full of important considerations, one that I should like to see ably discussed, but certainly one which I never bestowed a thought on till I entered this famous province of Normandy."

Now, this is singular!

As long as Mr. Cobbett travelled over France, merely observing what he saw, he thought the people of that country very comfortably arranged ;—but directly he began to reflect on the cause of their condition, he discovered that they ought to be plunged in the deepest misery and distress!

No marvel then that a gentleman who, under these circumstances, took much the wisest way—who, seeing all the folly and vanity of personal research, did not, I am pretty sure, give

(1) For this and other translations not given in notes — See Appendix.

(2) I may quote that very intelligent gentleman, M. de Tocqueville, who is known to us for his work on America, and whose family possess estates in that province, as one of my authorities.

himself the pains of such information—no marvel then that a gentleman,— with merely the report of our factory committee, and the report of our poor-law commissioners, and the tables indicative of the increase of crime in Great Britain, piled up upon his library table,—should have rubbed his hands a little pharasaically, and rejoiced at the happy contrast which existed between the people of his own contented land, and those of the "well-dressed"—"well-employed"—"cloak-covered"—"cow-keeping"—"fine bread-eating"—"wine-breakfasting" wretches on the other side of the channel.

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Macculloch on the effects of the division of property in France—His arguments: —First, "A sense of their inferiority in younger children will excite them to make extraordinary exertions after wealth;" Secondly, "That the bias in the heads of great families to provide for younger children out of the public establishments is very faint."

THE fable of Achilles is but an allegory. The wisest and the strongest have a part that is vulnerable to every coward and every fool; and far be it from me to derive any pert satisfaction from the proof which I shall venture, somewhat presumptuously, to give, that a very able man may be betrayed by haste and prejudice into a very negligent composition. The error of the author, I am about to criticise, has been the common error—the error which too usually follows us into all our judgments of men and things; the error which allows us to perceive nothing right where we see any thing wrong; the error which leads the liberal to despise the tory as a blockhead; the tory to loath the liberal as a traitor; the error which teaches the fanatic to believe there is no safety out of his creed; the political economist to believe there is no fact at variance with his theory.

If Mr. Macculloch had been satisfied with fairly comparing the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems under which property may be disposed of;—if he had stated certain principles, as likely to affect that system which is prevalent in France, acknowledging, at the same time, the subordination of such prin-

ciples to various influences—many of which are even beyond the scope of our dim intelligences; if he had recognized the faults inherent in the custom of primogeniture, as well as those attendant on the custom of equal succession; if he had seen the causes which sometimes counteract and sometimes counterbalance the dangers of a law, which in the country of which I am writing has produced evil as well as good— but certainly not the evil which mere speculation might have induced us to anticipate;— I should have paid that respect to him as a philosopher which I now withhold from him as an enthusiast. "Enthusiast," I say, for a man may be an enthusiast, though a compiler of facts, and an arguer with figures; and God only knows the mischief that is committed by gentlemen whose wisdom consists mostly in their appearance, and who conceal more than the madness of Sir Launcelot beneath the grave and solemn aspect of Dr. Syntax.

But, sensible of the delicacy of my task, I wish to strip it as much as possible of the usual vagueness of presumption; and while I do justice to the arguments of Mr. Macculloch, by laying them as plainly as possible before my readers, to do also justice to his understanding, by showing how little those arguments could have met with his serious consideration.

MR. MACCULLOCH'S ARGUMENT.—1.

The prejudices of most political philosophers, against the custom of primogeniture, seem to rest on no solid foundation; for the institution or custom of primogeniture, by giving the estate to the eldest son, forces the others to quit the home of their father—and *the sense they must feel of their inferiority* in point of wealth, as compared with the head of their family, will be a motive to them to make extraordinary exertions, *which could not have had any existence, if their patrimonies had been equal to his.*

Now, so much of this is correct: it is advisable to give society a stimulus to enrich itself—Why is this? to render society happier? But if the stimulus you employ to make people happier only makes them more miserable—you then defeat the object you have in view by the method you take to attain it. Is it not so?

Mr. Macculloch says: "The law of primogeniture will best make a nation rich, and riches are a means of happiness; there-

fore, the more rich you make a nation, the more happy you make it."

The opponent to the law of primogeniture, if the argument were to rest upon this ground, might not find it difficult to refute his antagonist.

"Riches," he would say, "are, as you observe, a means of happiness; but they are not happiness. If the method you pursue to make a nation wealthy embitters the pursuit and the possession of wealth, if the method you take to give people the means of enjoying themselves deprives every one of enjoyment, you are the last of legislators and philosophers, though you may call yourself the first of political economists.

What, according to you, is the result of your law of primogeniture?

A community consists of so many families, a family of so many children.

On the eldest born you bestow, not what is to satisfy him, but what is to make those who are begotten a year or two after him restless, envious, and discontented. "*The sense they are to feel of their inferiority in point of wealth, is to induce them to make extraordinary exertions*," not to gratify their own wants, remember! but to equal another's fortune!

There are five brothers: to one the father says, "I leave you more than you want, because it will make your brothers wretched until they have as much." To the four other brothers the same kind parent observes, "I have left you less than you want, that you may have no peace till you have more than you require." The one is to have every appetite pampered, in order that the others may have every faculty worn out.

Observe! if the younger brother found himself in his proper place—if he felt contented at being poor when his elder brother was rich, the whole value of your system would be gone; where you make four contented persons you make four paupers; it is only where you make four miserable persons that you have a chance of making four rich persons; and you have contrived all this—who would suppose it!—for the benefit of whom? not of the four poor persons—not of the one over-rich person—you have consulted the well-being of nobody in order to make every body well off.

You cannot tell me that the course you pursue, as best for

that indefinite creature called society, is best for any one of the creatures of which society is formed; thus, to a nameless, shapeless, insensible whole, you sacrifice every one of the real feeling sensitive parts; and this, because a nation should be rich, you esteem making a people happy.

It may be possible, therefore, to substitute for your stimulus to the acquisition of wealth, another stimulus;—not so strong perhaps as that it replaces, but nevertheless better; because, instead of being inimical to the happiness which wealth is to procure, it may in itself contain elements of enjoyment.

Is such the custum of equal succession?

A man starts in the world with 400 *l.* a-year. He quadruples this, and has at the end of his days four children. He says, on his death-bed, to each of these children :—" I started in the world with 400 *l.* a-year—I have succeeded in the world; I have made myself a name; I have made myself a fortune; and I have the happiness to leave each of you just what I myself began with."

Here there is no envy, no jealousy working upon the three brothers to become as rich as the elder one—filial admiration, parental affection, a respect for their parent's memory, a desire to do as much for their own children—these are the emotions you inspire!

Contrast such emotions with those you have been eulogizing! they are surely more consistent with human nature, if they are not so powerful over human ambition. The abolition of the law of primogeniture does not destroy all inducement to industry. It substitutes one inducement for another—an inducement which may be weaker, but which is better; more pious, more noble; not only exciting the energy, but elevating the character, and developing the affections; less productive, it may be, of wealth which is a means of happiness, but more consistent with happiness which wealth is intended to procure.

The opponent to the law of primogeniture might reply thus, and reply with success, if the advantages of primogeniture depended upon the argument with which Mr. Macculloch principally defends it: I say " principally defends it," because what follows is rather an excuse for its defects than a proof of its merits.

ARGUMENT 2.

It has sometimes been (exaggeratedly) contended that the custom of primogeniture is injurious, because it interests the leading families of the country in the support of expensive public establishments in which their younger brothers are commonly placed.

This bias, if it really exist, seems to be *very faint*. In so far as the administration of public justice is concerned, the younger branches of great families have certainly evinced *no very particular desire to encroach upon the many lucrative situations it affords.*

The advantages held out by the army, to a man who has been *genteelly brought up*, are certainly in a pecuniary point of view very far from alluring; and had the bias in question been so strong as represented, it is surprising that some more strenuous efforts should not have been made by the wealthier classes, to get the pay of the officers augmented.

Much has been said about situations in the colonies: *but colonies were not originally acquired* to provide situations for any particular class, but to extend the commerce of the country; and at this moment, if we except a few of the higher appointments, *the others are as commonly filled* by the sons of manufacturers and merchants as by those of landed gentlemen.

And supposing outlets for the latter, in the army, navy, and church, were narrowed, *it would merely oblige a greater number of them to enter upon the more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures, a change which, whether advantageous or not to others, would be anything but injurious to them.*

I confess that if I thought what Mr. Macculloch said in favour of the law of primogeniture not very strong, what he says in apology of it appears to me even more strikingly weak.

In the first place, as to the law :—"The younger branches of great families have evinced no particular desire to encroach upon the many lucrative situations which it affords."

The law happens to be a very hardworking profession, and as the fame and fortune to be acquired at it depend more upon the public than upon the government, no persons are likely to enter upon the laborious offices of that career who have not a considerable degree of talent and industry to devote to it.

To say, therefore, that the younger branches of the great families do not do this—is to say—what? that the law of primo-

geniture fails where it ought, according to Mr. Macculloch's previous argument, to be most successful—that it actually fails in inspiring that very industry and energy which he said, a little while ago, it was its peculiar principle and merit to beget!

But is it true that the younger branches of these families do not run after the honours and lucre of the legal profession, where those honours and that lucre can be most easily obtained?—Let us even take the heads of these families!—Let us, and let Mr. Macculloch, look at that list of sinecurists which we owe to the industry of the once radical Sir James Graham!

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
Lord Ellenborough, the chief Clerk of King's Bench; fees	9,625	8	1
Hon. W. H. I. Scott, receiver of the fines of the Court of Chancery.	240	14	8
Do.—Registrar of affidavits	4,816	15	8
Do.—Clerk of the letters patent.	353	14	11
Earl Bathurst, Clerk of the Crown. . . .	1,408	5	0

"But the army and navy, to a man genteelly brought up, are certainly, in a pecuniary point of view, far from alluring; and had the bias in question been so strong as it has been represented, it is somewhat surprising that some more strenuous efforts should not have been made by the wealthier classes to get the pay of the officers augmented."

Without cavilling at that rather indefinite expression—"*genteelly brought up*," and which, seemingly intended to apply to Dukelets and Earl-lets, is most scandalouly unjust if it exclude any of the butchers' and bakers' sons who are "most genteelly brought up" in the various "genteel" seminaries at Turnham Green, Pimlico, and Clapham—without cavilling at that expression "*genteelly brought up*," and supposing Mr. Macculloch to mean what his words do not precisely mean, viz.

That the wealthy aristocracy are not to be found in the army and navy, because, if they were, they would take care that the army and navy were a more lucrative profession. If this be Mr. Macculloch's meaning, as from page 460, to which I refer it would appear to be, he is certainly adopting a very novel view of the subject.

Why, no one has ever yet pretended to deny that the system

of high purchase and low pay in the army is exclusively for the purpose of favouring the wealthy classes; it gives them, and them only, the opportunity—in time of peace—(for danger and necessity level many distinctions) of arriving at the head of their profession.

This has always been candidly avowed, and indeed boasted of and defended, as the peculiar advantage of our military system over that of other nations; and, indeed, where you have a rich aristocracy at the head of the civil government of the state, it is necessary for the safety of that government to have the army filled with the aristocracy, and imbued with its principles.

In fact, what the aristocracy of blood did in France by privilege, the aristocracy of wealth has hitherto done in England by money; and so far from attacking the system of the army by itself, I say it must be defended and maintained as part of a whole, so long as that whole is maintained; but in God's name, let it be avowed and defended boldly, and not falsely denied or pitifully excused!

The navy is a different matter. On our navy our existence depends as a nation abroad, nor does a navy threaten our government at home. It is not necessary, therefore, for the support of an aristocracy, that the navy should be aristocratic, while it would be dangerous to the vital interests of the country, if merit were not allowed a fair encouragement in this profession. Thus the system of purchase does not exist in the navy; and for that reason the navy is less fashionable than the army, and less favoured, by the opinion of society, than in this great naval country it ought to be.

Now for the colonies. "Colonies were not *originally acquired* in order to provide situations for a particular class."

Is there any body who wanted to know this? Does any body want to know that Sir Walter Raleigh was not politely requested by Sir Ralph Winwood to go and find him a little provision for his younger children in El Dorado?

The question is not why the colonies were acquired, but to whom the colonial appointments have been given; and "at this moment," observes our author, "*if we except a few of the higher* appointments, the others are *as commonly* filled by

the sons of manufacturers and merchants as by the sons of landed gentlemen."

This must be very satisfactory—"The colonies," says Mr. Macculloch, "were acquired not to provide for our aristocracy, but to extend our commerce;" and he then adds with marvellous simplicity, "Things are just as they should be!" for to the *low* situations in those colonies, *especially acquired for the purposes of commerce*, the sons of merchants are actually admitted on the *same* footing as if they had nothing to do with commerce; and it is only from the *high* situations *in our commercial colonies that our commercial men are excluded!*

But Mr. Macculloch's argument is not at an end—

"Supposing that the existing outlets for the latter (sons of manufacturers, merchants, etc.) in the army and navy and church, *are* narrowed, it will merely oblige a greater number of them to enter upon the more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures, which (by parenthesis) "would be much better for them."

What a pity Mr. Macculloch had not flourished in France half a century ago! how satisfactorily he would have proved to the *Tiers-état*, that never were men so wrong in their lives as the people of this class—while they grumbled at not being admitted into the army or honoured by the court.—A cause for complaint—good heavens! It was the greatest blessing that could befal them—it was a custom intended expressly for their happiness and advantage—for it merely *obliged* them—unreasonable men! to enter upon the "more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures." How rich, how happy, how commercial, and how manufacturing France ought to have been at that time!

Woe then unto you, my countrymen, who think there is any object in the world worth the toil after, and the possession of, but lucre! woe unto you who look with emulation on the wreath, yet green, which decks the brows of the Duke of Wellington; which hangs unfaded on the tomb of Lord Nelson! woe unto you who feel inspired by the reputation of a Byron and a Scott, of a Herschell and a Babbage—who sigh after the vales of poesy, or who would climb the mountains of science! Woe unto you whose pleasure and whose ambition are not wholly concentrated in the acquisition of wealth—whose thoughts take a range

beyond the dingy purlieus of yonder dark and fog-breathing alley—woe unto you! if money do not make your felicity, it *ought to do so*—riches and the pursuits of riches are all that should pamper your heart or dazzle your imagination!

Happiness is only to be found on one road, and there is the commentary on Dr. Smith's Essays—by way of a sign-post!—

It is with these general reflections that Mr. Macculloch commences his observations on the present state of property *in France.*

Whatever may be my own opinion on the law of primogeniture, I confess, with a proper portion of respect for one who is my superior in age and reputation, that the cause does not seem to me to have gained very considerably hitherto, by its—GREAT DEFENDER.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Macculloch's contradictions—Assertions—Authorities.

Now, there are two contending sentiments to which, as I pursue my subject, I am more and more disagreeably exposed.

"Consideration for a person whose talents I acknowledge; consideration for the truth, which I believe the reputation of those talents has greatly tended to obscure."

The last sentiment is, I confess, the strongest; and thus I venture, deferentially, to display some of the singular contradictions, and to repeat some of the singular statements, which the distinguished author whom I have just alluded to has published, in respect to the disposition of property in the country of which I am treating—published with a carelessness it is difficult to account for, and a confidence it becomes legitimate to imitate.

CONTRADICTIONS, p. 462.

"The strong predilection entertained by the great bulk of the children of persons engaged in the business of agriculture, for the pursuits of their fathers, has been remarked by every one in any degree connected with rural affairs; and it is obvious that the existence of a law

compelling every father to divide his estate equally among his children, must afford the greatest facilities for gratifying this natural inclination."

From this you would conclude, that the prevailing passion in France would be for the acquisition of land, which is actually the case.

But mark, page 467:

"The rule established by the existing French law—(this rule, which was to give such a vent to the natural desire *to possess land*,)—*will naturally induce the greater number to amass moneyed fortunes in preference to land!*" (1)

P. 466.—One quotation from Mr. Birkbeck says, "that the people in the towns, as in the country, are growing poorer and poorer—that both are alike rather retrograding than progressing." The very next quotation from M. Laffitte, p. 469, draws a marked distinction between the people of the towns and the country, and says that the people of the towns are all that they should be for the time at which they live.

"The people in the towns are rather retrograde than progressive."—*Birkbeck.*

"The manufacturer of our towns is as much at his ease, as industrious, and as able, as a man of the times ought to be."—*Laffitte.*

M. Laffitte's assertion, in respect to towns, annihilates Mr. Birkbeck's: but M. Laffitte's assertion in respect to the country, quoted p. 467, as an excellent authority, is pretty well contradicted by Mr. Macculloch himself, p. 465. These are the two sentences:—

(1) Mr. Macculloch may say that these two sentences apply differently; that in the one case he alludes to the passion of the son, which will be to cultivate land; in the other, to the desire of the father, which will be to save money.

But if a man is a father at the close of his career, he is also very frequently a father at the commencement of it.

Either, then, the desire to save money for his children will influence his choice of life, or the desire to possess land will affect his saving money for his children.

" Our agriculture is as poor, as ignorant, as in the days of feudality."—*M. Laffitte.*

" That the condition of the agriculturists of France has, on the whole, considerably improved since the revolution (1789), *seems certain!*"

It is only by such contradictions that we could be prepared for the statements which follow, and which really seem selected for the purpose of startling all belief.

1st.—" The effect of the present law fills, and will fill, the country with a wretched population, *destitute of the desire of rising in the world.*"

2nd.—" It is said by the admirers of the French law of succession, that it has introduced peace into families; that the insolent prerogative of primogeniture being abolished, the children look upon each other as brothers, and entertain the warmest affection for their parents. *In point of fact, however, it has had a precisely opposite effect.*"

Now, I will ask any Frenchman, Carlist, Louis-Philippist, or Republican, whether two statements more contrary to fact could be made than the two I have quoted?

What!

" The French destitute of the desire of rising in the world!"

Even M. Girou, in his very able publication, from which Mr. Macculloch, though he does not allude to this authority, would seem to have borrowed some of his arguments and opinions—even M. Girou, in his very able publication *against* the division of property, says—" Cela fait que chacun veut vivre comme il a vécu chez son père:" (1) a fair, though not, perhaps, an excessive stimulus to industry! But without quoting authorities, which on this point would be innumerable, I beg any one to go into a village in France; what will he see there?— the peasant devoted to the hope of purchasing a piece of land, or extending that which he possesses.

Into a town of France—what object meets his eyes? The young adventurer packing up his small bundle and starting for Paris, where he hopes to be minister, as Thiers; or marshal, as Lannes; or first consul, as Bonaparte.

(1) Every one wishes to live as he has lived with his father.

Where is the man who goes to the *bureau de la guerre*, and hears of the crowds of volunteers, sixty thousand on one occasion, rushing to the standard of France on the slightest whisper of its being unfurled?

Where is the man who goes to Paris, and converses with one of the three hundred and forty high public functionaries—with one of the four hundred and ninety persons in the law—with one of the one thousand one hundred and forty members of the Institute and the University—with one of the eighteen thousand four hundred and sixty clerks—with one of the nineteen thousand soldiers—with one of the forty-seven thousand students; ay, and I will even say, with one of the two hundred and ninety thousand of the working classes in that metropolis,—where is the man, who has ever spoken to any of the persons forming these vast bodies of active and enterprizing men, who will tell you that the evil from which France at present suffers is a carelessness to rise in the world; an indifference to any kind of distinction?

And now for the peace and affection which the present law has introduced into families! I will merely say, that one of the effects of this law has been actually a change in the French language. The father formerly said "thou" to his son as he did to his servant; the son now uses the singular pronoun to his father as he does to his friend.

To any one who knows the force of the singular pronoun in French, the example I give will be sufficient proof of the assertion I fearlessly make; viz. that the most remarkable change *has taken place* since the revolution of 1789, in family intercourse and friendship. Even while I have been writing these pages, numerous instances have occurred within the circle in which I have been living, of that good will between brothers, which arises from their equality, and that filial confidence, and affectionate familiarity, between parents and their children, which spring naturally from mutual independence. (1)

Thus, I have ventured to show some of the contradictions,

(1) In some departments, in the Department de la Corrèze, for instance, where the custom of favouring the eldest child prevails, the greatest difference is remarkable in the manners of the inhabitants; and feuds are even perpetuated from brothers to their descendants.

and to contradict some of the statements of Mr. Macculloch. I now approach his authorities.

And first, in respect to authorities—when we quote writers (the writers of another country more especially), it seems to me, that we should observe certain rules—for instance:

We should state the character and weight of the persons from whom we quote.

We should make some allusion to the fact of others writers, of equal character and weight (if such be the case), being of a contrary opinion.

We should cite no work partially, so as to give an idea that its author is more favourable to our own opinion than he really is.

Now, in none of these respects do I find Mr. Macculloch so fair and candid as a person of his weight and respectability ought to be.

The principal authorities he cites are:—

M. Rainville, secretary to M. de Villèle, a protégé of the Jesuits, and anxious to bring back the old system.

M. de Bonald, a man indeed of ability, but a royal and religious enthusiast.

M. Laffitte, who, I think, would be found not hostile to the French law of succession, though he may find fault with the backwardness of French agriculture.

The Duc de la Rochefoucault, who rather blames the madness with which land was seized, in the smallest divisions, at a particular period (the revolution of 89), than the general system of dividing property by bequest under ordinary circumstances.

But give these authorities all the weight you can desire—are there no authorities which counterbalance them?

Monsieur Roy, ,, de Molé, ,, Decazes, ,, Pasquier, ,, de Talleyrand, (1)	The most practical, most moderate, and able statesmen in France.

Then Messieurs de Morel Vendé; Charles Dupin; (2) Loriol;

(1) See the speech of Mirabeau that he read in the National Assembly against substitutions.

(2) " La division des propriétés qui s'est opérée sur tous les points du

and a long list of others, who, to use Mr. Macculloch's expression, "might be multiplied to any extent." Are not these more important, as French authorities, in favour of the law of division, than any that have been cited against it?

There remain Mr. Birkbeck and Mr. Young, English authorities. Mr. Birkbeck's pamphlet is a very curious one, and resembles greatly Mr. Cobbett's. And now I must notice Mr. Macculloch's first and principal quotation! He cites a long passage, *in proof of the wretched condition of the French*, from pages 34 and 35. At the end of this passage he stops. But is the sentence stopped? No!—the immediate words that follow are, "*yet they (the French) seem happier than we are.*"

And then continuing, "being much on a level among themselves, and possessing *enough* to supply their temperate wants, *they* feel no degradation. We spend our lives in *painful* endeavours to advance ourselves and our children: having no means of improving their condition, they submit to necessity, and spend their lives contentedly."

I do not accept Mr. Birkbeck's opinion as a decisive one—his pamphlet, though able, contains many contradictions; but I say, "Ought any one, quoting one sentence, in proof of the French people being *miserable*, to leave out the next sentence, which says that they are *happy?*" If a people are morally happier by being materially poorer (the case as stated by Mr. Birkbeck), it is as interesting to the statesman and the legislator to know tha this people is happy, as it is to know that this people is poor.

But I just wish persons to see what kind of authority Mr. Birkbeck is, for "the prominent evils in the social condition of the people of France."

At the very entrance of this gentleman into France, he exclaims at once, p. 5, "*There is more appearance of enjoyment*

territoire, a produit une aisance plus uniformément répandue; elle a donné des moyens de bien-être et de santé à beaucoup de familles qui n'en jouissaient point dans une époque antérieure. D'un autre côté, *les progrès* de l'industrie ont procuré du travail à beaucoup d'ouvriers."—P. 43.—Forces Productives et Commerciales.

So again—"En contemplant les immenses progrès que la France a fait en agriculture." P. xv. Introduction.

and less of positive suffering than I ever beheld before, or had any conception of."

P. 11.—"Every object denotes prosperity and comfort. Since I entered the country, I have been looking in all directions for the ruins of France; for the horrible effects of the revolution, of which so much is said on our side of the water; but, instead of a ruined country, I see *fields highly cultivated* and towns full of inhabitants.

"No houses tumbling down or empty—no ragged wretched-looking people!

"I have inquired, and every body assures me, that agriculture has been *improving rapidly* for the last twenty-five years; that the riches and comforts of the cultivators of the soil have *been doubled* since that period; and that vast improvement has taken place in the condition and character of the common people. On my *first* landing, I was struck with the respectable appearance of the working class; I see the same marks of comfort and plenty *wherever I proceed.* I ask for the wretched peasantry, of whom I have heard and read so much; but I am always referred to the revolution; it seems they vanished *then.*"

Again—p. 22.

"The labouring class, here, is certainly *much higher* on the social scale than *with us.* Every opportunity of collecting information, on this subject, confirms my first impression that there are very few really poor people in France. In England, a poor man and a labourer are synonymous terms; we speak familiarly of *the poor*, meaning *the labouring class;* not so here."

But you will say, "Mr. Birkbeck's evidence may still be against the division of property, and he may attribute this prosperity to some other evident cause." Just hearken to the sentence following that I have just quoted!

"I have now learnt enough to explain this difference; and, having received the *same information* from EVERY *quarter*, there is *no* reason to doubt its correctness.

"The national domains, consisting of the confiscated estates of the church, and the emigrant nobility, were exposed to sale during the pecuniary distresses of the revolutionary government, *in small portions*, for the accommodation of the *lowest orders* of purchasers, and five years allowed for completing the

payment. This indulgence, joined to the depreciation of assignats, enabled the *poorest description of persons* to become *proprietors*, and such they are *almost universally*; possessing from one to ten acres. (1)

"And as the education of the poor was sedulously promoted during the early years of the revolution, their great advance in character, as well as *condition*, is *no mystery*."

P. 30.—"From St. Pierre to Moulins—the lower classes appear *less* comfortable; an old enclosed country which probably furnished *no small allotments* for the *poor*, on the sale of the national domains.

"I find, as I suspected *from their appearance*, that *few* of the peasantry here are *proprietors*."

P. 51. Montpellier.

"From Dieppe to this place, we have seen scarcely a working animal whose condition was not excellent. Oxen, horses, and now mules and asses, fat and well-looking, but not pampered. This looks like *prosperity*. And when I add that we have not seen, among the labouring people, *one* such famished, worn-out, wretched object, as may be met with in *every parish* of England, I had almost said in *every* farm; this, in a country so populous, so entirely agricultural, denotes *real prosperity*. Again, from Dieppe to this place, I could not easily point out an acre of waste, a spot of land that is not *industriously* cultivated, though not *always* well, *according to our notions*."(2)

Will any one believe that this is the writer whom Mr. Macculloch cites in an isolated passage as an authority for "the prominent evils in the social condition of France?" (3)

(1) It will be seen that here there is another contradiction in Mr. Macculloch's authorities:—

Mr. Birkbeck gives the very state of things which followed the revolution of 89 (which the Duc de la Rochefoucault spoke of as an evil), as an advantage.

(2) "France, so peopled, *so cultivated*, moderately taxed, without paper money, without tithes, without poor-rates, almost *without* poor; with excellent roads in every direction, and overflowing with corn, and wine, and oil, *must* be and *really is* a *rich* country. *Yet there are few rich individually*."

(3) There is, however, in the Appendix to the Second Edition of

I proceed to the other English author, on whose opinions we are told to rely.

"France is threatened to be overpowered, not only with a redundant, but with a potato-feeding population" (p. 480); "by persevering in this system (the division of property), it will soon exceed the populousness of China, where the putrid carcasses of dogs, cats, rats, and every species of vermin and filth, are sought after with avidity, to sustain the wretches born only to be starved."

Alas!—for a long time the poor Frenchman has been painted with a frog on his plate—but now he is to eat *all kinds* of filth and vermin!

Is it any consolation to know that this was prognosticated by Mr. Young, upwards of forty years ago? That the system of which he complained, a system which had immemorially prevailed in many parts of France without quite producing those disastrous effects, has not only been persevered in, but enlarged upon since the prophecy was announced. Is this any consolation?

Mr. Macculloch answers, "No!—if such was Mr. Young's opinion in 1789, how much more reason would he have for coming to such a conclusion now, when almost all the large estates, then existing in the country, have been broken up, and the succession of small patches generally regulated by law."

Is Mr. Macculloch right? (1)

Mr. Birkbeck's work, a violent attack upon the abominable regulation of descents, on account of the manner in which it will affect the *next* generation; but not a word in proof of this; nor does it once strike him, in his practical observations previously; it comes as an after suggestion from a correspondent—perhaps Mr. Macculloch himself. But Mr. Birkbeck has here gone upon the vulgar idea, that property will go on, under the French law, indefinitely dividing. I shall show that such is not the case presently. But what Mr. Macculloch maintains is, that at the time Mr. Birkbeck wrote, the Division of Property had been baleful. He quotes Mr. Birkbeck to prove this, and the whole of Mr. Birkbeck's book, with the exception of one passage, is notoriously against it.

(1) Suppose, reader, that you lay it down as a principle that any cause will produce the most deplorable effects. Suppose that cause developes

There was a philosopher who once predicted that if a comet, which was then making its appearance, were to continue visible for three weeks, it would destroy the world; the philosopher died, and the comet continued visible for six weeks instead of three, and the world was not burnt. The people, who are ignorant, said, "if the philosopher were alive, he would see he had been mistaken." "Mistaken," said another philosopher, the defunct's friend, "my friend predicted that the world would be destroyed if the comet lasted three weeks, how much more reason would he have to declare that the world would be destroyed now, when the comet has lasted six weeks!"

CHAPTER XIII.

How far Property is likely to go on Dividing.—What the Law respecting the Division of Property in France is—Table of Properties subjected to the Land-tax—Checks to Division.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Birkbeck and others have seen no especial evils from the division of property in France, as it exists at present, many, and Mr. Birkbeck among the number, have imagined that enormous evils must necessarily ensue; and this, from falling into the vulgar belief, that land will go on subdividing *ad infinitum*, because the law favours its division. The extent to which the division of land will be carried is probably the most important part of the subject under our consideration.

and extends itself prodigiously, and that it produces none of the effects predicted—does it not seem as clear, as that Scotland is on the north side of the Tweed, that your cause having increased, and none of your effects having been produced, that you have greatly exaggerated the influence of your cause?

If the people of France, instead of eating filth and vermin in 1834, live much better than they did in 1789, and that the land (the terrible division of which was to have driven them to such extremity) has been still more divided, would you, a gloomy prophet in 1789, have been confirmed or shaken in your predictions in 1834?

Now, there are two mistakes, which, in reasoning on the conduct of mankind, we are equally liable to commit.

"Men are wholly governed by their interest," say some.—Exaggeration!

"Men are not governed by their interests, but by their passions," say others.—Exaggeration!

Men are partly governed by their passions, partly by their interests.—The course which they take is usually a compromise between the two.

"Où il y aura bénéfice à diviser les terres, le morcellement aura lieu, toutefois jusqu'au point *seulement* où son excès donnerait de la perte; et là où il y aura avantage à ne point diviser, ou même à accroître la propriété, la conservation ou l'agglomération se pratiqueront, *et cela tant qu'il y aura bénéfice à le faire*." (1)—*M. de Morel Vendé.*

This is a charming theory; but rather too charming to be precisely true.

"Le morcellement des terres croît en raison géométrique: chez les petits propriétaires, ce mal se fait sentir à la première génération: chacun cependant reste attaché à sa petite fraction de propriété, et se tourmente pour en tirer une chétive subsistence qu'il aurait gagnée avec moins de peine et plus de profit dans une autre profession. Il meurt jeune, (2) et ne pouvant vivre, lui et ses enfans, de sa propriété, il ravage celle de ses voisins." (3)—*M. de Bonald.*

(1) "Where there is an advantage in dividing land, the division will take place: only, however, to that point where its excess will occasion loss; and there, where it will be advantageous not to divide or even to increase a property, the conservation or the agglomeration will take place."

(2) His life is increased by at least seven years since the last half century.

(3) "The division of land increases in geometrical progression. Among the small proprietors, the evil is felt at the first generation; every one, however, remains attached to his little fraction of land, and torments himself in order to derive from it a scanty subsistence, which he would have gained with less pain and more profit in another profession. He dies young, and, not being able to live on his own property, despoils that of his neighbours."

This is a most deplorable picture, which would undoubtedly be correct, if men were wholly indifferent to existence, and the comforts of existence, and likely to submit to hard labour, starvation, and early death, when, by a change of system, they could support themselves happily alive to a good old age.

Property will not cease being divided, just at the moment most advantageous to the pecuniary interest of the proprietor—because he is proud of the possession of property; neither will it go on dividing to an infinite extent—because he is sensible to the necessities of life.

Where the law favours the division of landed property, it will be divided perhaps more than it ought to be; but where the law favours the agglomeration of land, it will also be agglomerated more than it ought to be. No system is perfect.

There is, however, this difference between the two systems:—in one case, the small proprietor is at once *obliged to abandon* his estate when it ceases to provide for his subsistence; in the other, the great proprietor is *only warned to decrease* his estate, when his profits diminish.

But let us see what the French law, affecting the disposal of property, really is.

After a parent's death, the property of that parent is to be equally divided among the children, with this exception—that the parent has a right to leave a "*part d'enfant*," (*i.e.* a child's share,) to any child over and above the portion which would come to that child from equal partition. For instance, if a man has five children, he may leave a fifth to the one he prefers; if three children, a third; if two, a double portion.

The effects of this law are:

1st, To make the child independent of his father's aversion, but expectant from his father's love.

2ndly, To make the parent depend, for the extent of his power, on the extent of his family; and, as the greatness of the one is measured by the smallness of the other, a powerful check is created to an overabundant population.

Thus, the same law which provides for the support of the child provides also for the authority of the father; and, while it tends to the division of property, contains a principle intended for its limitation. Nor is this all; exactly as the authority of the

father requires strengthening, the limit to the division of property becomes more strong.

We see then that the law of France possesses, even in its letter, a notable provision against the mischiefs which it is conceived likely to produce. But it is not only in the letter of a law that we are to look for its effects—*the spirit* of a law, which *diffuses property*, is to give a desire to *increase*, and to *retain property*.

The pauper and the beggar have no restraint put upon their passions, and they propagate their species with the recklessness of men who have no hope in the future, and only one present pleasure to enjoy. The peasant, who has a small piece of land, lives under the increasing desire to preserve, to increase, and to transmit that land. He receives four acres from his father, he toils unceasingly till he can acquire eight, and it is not often that he increases his family beyond the ratio at which his property has increased.

The increase of population in France has not only been less than the increase of population in the other great countries of Europe; (1) it has been less, as I have once before had occasion to observe, than the increase of every other species of power and wealth in France itself.

Annual increase of population :—

In Prussia. . . .	27,027	individuals.
Great Britain. . .	16,667	,,
Low Countries. . .	12,572	,,
The Two Sicilies. .	11,211	,,
Russia.	10,527	,,
Austria.	10,111	,,
France.	5,556	,,

Ch. Dupin, p. 55.

Increase Annual, in—

Population.	$\frac{3}{4}$
Horses.	1
Sheep.	$1\frac{1}{4}$

(1) This does not quite accord with Mr. Young's prognostication.

Consumption indicated by indirect taxation.	3
Ditto, by octroi.	$3\frac{1}{3}$
Operations of Industry, as by patents.	$3\frac{2}{3}$
Circulation, as by post.	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Commerce, as by Customs.	4
Industry, as by Coal.	4
Ditto, by Iron.	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, by the Press.	$2\frac{1}{4}$

Ch. Dupin, Intr. xvii.

Besides, in the law of division resides, to a certain extent, the law of union. If the father gives a portion to his daughter, the son receives a portion with his wife, and as marriages in France are regulated, in some degree, by interest, what goes away on one side returns, in a great measure, on the other.

Among the old nobility who rescued any property from the revolution of 1789, you will usually find that property rather to have augmented than diminished, during the last twenty years.

Among the peasantry who have once obtained any fair portion of property by their toil, you will usually find, not perhaps the identical property which the father possessed, but a property equal to it in the hands of the son.

The cases where property multiplies its divisions are, where many new properties start up, from one large property being sold. But as, even in these cases, the persons who purchase land are, for the most part, those who already possess it, twenty estates are increased to ten that are created. (1)

(1) The high price which such estates, sold in small lots, produce, has led to two false conclusions. Some have quoted this price as a proof that small pieces of land produce the most to the cultivator; others, as an evidence, that all large estates will soon be sold in small lots. Estates sell for the most part in small lots, because in a country where there are only small fortunes, there can only be competition for small pieces of land.

All large estates will not be sold in small lots, because that passion for property, which will instigate the small proprietor to buy property beyond its value, induces the large proprietor to keep his property when

There are many feelings, then, which arise from the disposal of landed property in small divisions, which are in themselves inimical to its indefinite sub-division. There are likewise circumstances directly opposed to such a system of small divisions, which tend to moderate their excess.

Any person travelling over France will observe, though the system of division may not in every identical instance be exactly regulated, as M. de Morel Vende supposes, by its advantages, that yet it is carried to a far greater extent in those places, and under those circumstances where it is least calculated to be prejudicial, or most calculated to be the reverse.

As in vineyards, for instance:

	Hectares.
The quantity of land in which the wine is now cultivated.	2,017,667.
The number of proprietors. . . .	2,184,015.

Here is land in almost its extreme division—but why?

The quantity of land thus cultivated has been only increased by one quarter since 1788; the value of the produce has doubled.

"Le morcellement des terres est subordonné aux localités,"(1) says the rapports des Géomètres en chef du cadastre. Thus, in some places where division is not disadvantageous, property will be exceedingly divided; so in others, where great division would be ruinous, i will not take place. Now there is a much smaller portion of France where a very minute division of property is possible, than where a tendency to agglomeration is prescribed.

In those districts where great manufactures have raised the price of labour to such a height, that it is impossible to cultivate otherwise than by the plough—in the forests, in the great pasturages, and "landes"—in those countries where the proprietor can neither sell nor transport his crops, and is therefore obliged to create immense flocks wandering over immense plains, in order to obtain a produce which transports itself—in all these districts, forming a considerable portion of France,

he can get more than its value for it. Few estates are sold in France which, for some reason or other, are not *obliged* to be sold.

(1) The division of lands will vary according to their situation.

the necessity of great properties is instituted by a law, independent of man.

Such are many of the causes to which we must attribute, what at first sight may appear a phenomenon, but which, nevertheless, is a fact, viz.

The very slight increase in the division of the soil, notwithstanding the law seeming to favour its extreme and continued subdivision.

In 1826, when "la loi d'aînesse" was agitated in France, and an attempt made by the ministry to institute something like a system of primogeniture, it is to be remarked that the government, although pressed on all sides to present the chambers with some statistical proof of the increased division of landed property (a proof easy for them to procure, and which for the departments adjoining Paris they might even have procured during the time that the debate was continued), evaded the demand, and presented, instead of authentic facts, nothing but vague and desultory observations.

There was one person at that time peculiarly qualified to form a just opinion upon the subject, as well from the high ministerial situation he had lately filled, as from his peculiar attention to agricultural pursuits, and the political moderation for which he had always been distinguished. In a speech delivered 3rd April, M. Decazes gives, as the result of his own personal and practical experience, facts exceedingly different from those which would be deduced from Mr. Young's and Mr. Macculloch's theory.

"Chacun de nous pouvait, plus ou moins aisément, se procurer un travail facile pour le gouvernement, plus difficile pour les individus, non pour la totalité de la France, mais pour un point particulier qui, une fois connu, servirait d'appréciation pour les autres.

"Je l'ai fait, Messieurs, en partie pour l'arrondissement qui m'est plus particulièrement connu, et à la prospérité duquel la reconnaissance et tous les sentimens de la nature me commandent de porter un intérêt plus spécial.

* * * * *

"A un petit nombre près, tous les habitans y sont propriétaires. L'amour de la propriété y est poussé au plus haut degré: chez les pères comme chez les enfans; chez les riches

comme chez les pauvres, elle est le sentiment et le besoin dominant.

* * * * *

"Le partage égal des successions y est la règle la plus commune et la plus générale; là, comme dans la grande majorité des autres arrondissemens de France, les personnes aisées y disposent rarement de la portion disponible. Les exemples en sont si peu fréquens, que je n'en sais pas un seul autour de moi, dans aucune classe de la société, les paysans exceptés; et pour ceux-ci, ce n'est pas du préciput entier qu'ils disposent lorsqu'ils le font, mais de telle ou telle pièce de terre, de telle ou telle quotité de leur succession; non par *préférence habituelle*, au profit de leur aîné, mais le plus souvent *par reconnaissance* pour celui de leurs enfans qui est resté auprès d'eux, qui a partagé leurs travaux, *qui a soigné leur vieillesse*.

"Eh bien! dans cet arrondissement," (where the division was most likely to have been excessive) "*loin qu'il y ait eu morcellement* dans les douze années qui viennent de s'écouler, *il y a eu agglomération*.

"En 1815 le nombre des rôles s'élevait à quarante-deux mille et quelques cents; en 1825, par une diminution annuelle et successive, ce chiffre se réduit à près de quarante mille; de sorte que l'agglomération en dix ans a été de deux mille cotes environ, ou de deux quarantièmes.

"Je ne prétends pas qu'il en ait été ainsi dans tous les arrondissemens du royaume; cependant les autres renseignemens isolés, que quelques uns de nos collègues ont eu la bonté de me fournir, sont loin d'être contraires à l'exemple que je viens de citer." (1)

If I merely wished to have the best of the argument over Mr. Macculloch, I would now quote his own statement, viz. "that in 1816, there were 10,414,112, taxable properties; and subjoin, on the authorities of various publicists, the calculation that in 1830 there were about 10,000,200 of such properties.

In the analysis, printed at the beginning of this work, I did give such a calculation derived from the best sources then at my command; but, owing to the kindness of the French ministry of finance, I have since been able to procure a very valuable

(1) See Appendix for translation.

statement of the changes which have taken place at three different epochs in each department.

The annexed table then gives, undoubtedly, a continued increase in the division of land, but it is a very small increase, and such as might be effectually and easily counteracted.

And here we should carefully distinguish between the equal succession of property, which it is impossible—whatever its merits or defects—for the government in France to change, and the system of unnecessarily cutting and clipping up properties, which it is not only possible, but necessary, for the government to alter.

P. dies, leaving six fields and three children. Is it necessary, in order that P.'s children should be equally provided for, that each of P.'s fields, as it now frequently happens, should be equally cut up? (1) Certainly not.

This is a case in which the law might safely interfere, and check a subdivision of the soil, which can only be disadvantageous, without affecting the division of fortunes, which is accompanied by many advantages.

Besides, a wise remission of the stamp-duty on such deeds as were required for the consolidation of small properties would, of itself, tend greatly to destroy those extraordinary cases of subdivision, which sometimes exist from the law exacting more on the sale of a patch of ground than it is worth to the purchaser.

Again, many of the evils to be complained of at present seem likely to decrease, not only from the enlargement of estates, if estates enlarge; but from other causes, if the division of land remain, as I believe it will do, much what it is.

As the peasant becomes more intelligent, he will better understand the nature of his property, and the force of his means. Instead of widening the enclosure of his field, he will deepen the richness of its surface, and if he is sometimes, at present, rather induced to add to his little spot of ground than to im-

(1) "Dans les Basses-Pyrénées on arrange facilement les partages, et il y a peu de morcellement."—*Dépt. du Var.*

"Le morcellement est créé par le désir de chacun d'avoir une pièce de chaque espèce de terre." —*Rapport des géomètres en chef du cadastre.*

DE	NUMBER OF PROPERTIES.		
	In 1815.	In 1826.	In 1832.
1. Ain .	49,251	41,105	43,842
2. Ais .	153,272	132,066	149,123
3. Alli .	172,147	185,786	192,716
4. Alp .	168,167	169,722	178,091
5. Alp .	114,622	117,367	122,425
6. Arc .	90,692	86,386	93,001
7. Arc .	152,849	160,197	124,253
8. Ari .	148,438	150,746	156,630
9. Aul .	91,948	93,475	101,621
10. Au .	137,070	143,805	154,288
11. Av .	75,422	77,350	83,205
12. Bo .	205,160	221,552	226,086
13. Cal .	211,612	210,220	209,443
14. Ca .	136,971	142,802	149,585
15. Ch .	215,828	226,330	236,883
16. Ch .	179,328	198,131	217,350
17. Ch .	92,666	91,494	92,167
18. Co .	73,316	72,368	77,388
19. Co s.	51,721	48,247	51,490
20. Côt .	204,134	215,635	288,163
21. Côt .	155,808	159,395	171,349
22. Cre .	72,241	82,761	89,531
23. Do .	122,627	121,800	128,387
24. Do .	135,770	147,194	156,160
25. Dr .	122,049	121,934	124,911
26. Eu .	65,583	65,231	61,327
27. Eu .	126,403	128,232	132,835
28. Fin .	156,129	160,788	172,529
29. Gar .	214,601	224,913	232,500
30. Gar .	127,998	124,556	128,550
31. Ger .	234,933	243,193	250,856
32. Gir .	84,675	87,282	94,683
33. Hér .	82,416	82,986	85,575
34. Ille .	94,782	97,794	103,878
35. Ind .	75,320	75,668	33,273
36. Ind .	103,967	111,022	123,736
37. Isè .	110,548	111,192	119,045
38. Jur .	49,165	52,303	57,947
39. Lan .	134,086	137,809	145,727
40. Loi .	183,067	183,920	184,049
41. Loi .			
42. Loi .			
43. Loi .	10,031,238	10,241,243	10,756,074
44. Loi .	52,513	55,450	58,705
45. Lot.			
46. Lot-	10,083,751	10,296,693	10,814,779

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NUMBER OF PROPERTIES SUBJECTED TO THE LAND-TAX.

DEPARTMENTS.	NUMBER OF PROPERTIES. In 1815.	In 1826.	In 1832.
1. Ain.	128,450	134,674	139,891
2. Aisne.	187,409	206,279	214,428
3. Allier.	59,734	57,129	61,484
4. Alpes (Basses).	52,159	50,718	52,100
5. Alpes (Hautes).	41,475	38,963	40,796
6. Ardèche.	76,989	83,749	86,580
7. Ardennes.	111,223	117,198	121,419
8. Ariége.	73,875	73,368	79,867
9. Aube.	152,430	166,517	159,444
10. Aude.	77,014	79,463	84,374
11. Aveyron.	118,170	114,555	119,696
12. Bouches-du-Rhône.	84,346	81,248	88,583
13. Calvados.	171,940	162,101	168,283
14. Cantal.	51,402	55,699	58,600
15. Charente.	136,996	155,131	153,425
16. Charente-Inférieure.	215,968	219,057	229,738
17. Cher.	68,142	74,794	80,816
18. Corrèze.	58,448	57,900	64,374
19. Corse.	—	—	—
20. Côte-d'Or.	139,889	149,206	159,541
21. Côtes-du-Nord.	137,127	138,015	156,527
22. Creuse.	58,318	62,096	68,219
23. Dordogne.	137,114	143,397	143,110
24. Doubs.	86,466	91,174	95,857
25. Drôme.	78,802	87,578	92,527
26. Eure.	180,625	179,633	181,929
27. Eure-et-Loir.	146,097	142,002	145,331
28. Finistère.	79,655	74,436	83,376
29. Gard.	105,297	105,188	115,838
30. Garonne, Haute.	119,927	123 800	129,441
31. Gers.	93,445	98,320	104,127
32. Gironde.	156 440	164,729	174,201
33. Hérault.	97,263	101,514	111,502
34. Ille-et-Vilaine.	150,282	127,774	141,936
35. Indre.	71,636	75,124	82,824
36. Indre-et-Loire.	111,863	107,318	113,803
37. Isère.	165,884	172,036	201,433
38. Jura.	112,386	117,561	121,307
39. Landes.	44,778	39,413	40,050
40. Loir-et-Cher.	95,840	90,025	94,697
41. Loire.	74,798	81,821	91,227
42. Loire (Haute).	94,559	86,206	92,233
43. Loire-Inférieure.	106,858	115,701	124,447
44. Loiret.	112,454	111,442	116,592
45. Lot.	109,335	108,136	108,926
46. Lot-et-Garonne.	123,952	118,142	122,673
47. Lozère.	49,251	41,105	43,842
48. Maine-et-Loire.	153,272	132,066	149,123
49. Manche.	172,147	185,786	192,716
50. Marne.	168,167	169,722	178,091
51. Marne (Haute).	114,622	117,367	122,425
52. Mayenne.	90,692	86,386	93,001
53. Meurthe.	152,849	160,197	124,253
54. Meuse.	148,438	150,746	156,630
55. Morbihan.	91,948	93,475	104,621
56. Moselle.	137,070	143,805	154,288
57. Nièvre.	75,422	77,350	83,205
58. Nord.	205,160	221,552	226,086
59. Oise.	211,612	210,220	209,443
60. Orne.	136,971	142,802	149,585
61. Pas-de-Calais.	215,828	226,330	236,883
62. Puy-de-Dôme.	179,328	198,131	217,350
63. Pyrénées, Basses.	92,666	91,494	92,167
64. Pyrénées, Hautes.	73,316	72,368	77,388
65. Pyrénées-Orientales.	51,721	48,247	51,490
66. Rhin (Bas).	204,134	215,635	288,163
67. Rhin (Haut).	155,808	159,395	171,349
68. Rhône.	72,241	82,761	89,531
69. Saône (Haute).	122,627	121,800	128,387
70. Saône-et-Loire.	135,770	147,194	156,160
71. Sarthe.	122,049	121,934	124,911
72. Seine.	65,583	65,231	61,327
73. Seine-Inférieure.	126,403	128,232	132,835
74. Seine-et-Marne.	156,129	160,788	172,529
75. Seine-et-Oise.	214,601	224,913	232,500
76. Sèvres (Deux).	127,998	124,556	128,550
77. Somme.	234,933	243,193	250,856
78. Tarn.	84,675	87,282	94,683
79. Tarn et Garonne.	82,416	82,986	85,575
80. Var.	94,782	97,794	103,878
81. Vaucluse.	75,320	75,668	33,273
82. Vendée.	103,967	111,022	123,736
83. Vienne.	110,548	111,192	119,045
84. Vienne (Haute).	49,165	52,303	57,947
85. Vosges.	134,086	137,809	145,727
86. Yonne.	183,067	183,920	184,049
	10,031,238	10,241,243	10,756,074
CORSE.	52,513	55,450	58,705
	10,083,751	10,296,693	10,814,779

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prove it, in proportion to the extent of his error will be the beneficial result of his experience. Moreover, the experiments which individuals are incapable of attempting, it is the duty, and will probably be the object, of the public administration to undertake.

At present there are two experimental farms supported by the government with this intention, and the number should be so increased as to apply to the different variations of soil, climate, and vegetation.

Let us take then all these circumstances into consideration:—

The small increase in the number of properties, during the last thirty years, under every circumstance most favourable to their increase—

The possibility of checking such increase by easy and paternal legislation, which would not affect the existing law of succession—

The circumstances which, if the division of land remain as it is, or were even to progress, would diminish the evils attendant upon it—

Let us take, I say, all these circumstances into consideration, and I think we shall allow, that whatever may be the evil naturally resulting from the anti-primogenital law of France, it is not likely to be greater twenty years hence than it is at the moment at which I am now writing.

CHAPTER XIV.

It is the present state of France that we have to consider, without fear for the future, in respect to this question—Folly of comparisons between France and England, and France and Ireland—A small Lessee different from a small Proprietor—A bad system of agriculture made, by energy, a good one—More persons occupied on Land by its Division than there need be.

It is, then, the present state of prosperity in France that we have to consider, with a judgment no longer under the influence of that terrible hobgoblin of indefinite subdivision by which we have been perpetually alarmed as to the future.

Those who contend against the existing state of property in that country, begin by telling you that in England landed property is agglomerated; in France landed property is divided; —that England is better cultivated than France, and that therefore the agglomeration of landed property is better for agriculture than the division.

I need hardly say, that it is impossible to derive any accurate result from a mere comparison between England and France.

The more extensive a country is, the more variety it admits in language, character, and habits, the more it is deprived of natural and artificial communications, the less likely is it to adopt and circulate improvements.

"Quand j'habitais les ports de la Flandre," says M. Charles Dupin, "et surtout ceux de la Provence, j'étais toujours étonné d'entendre des gens du pays distinguer les hommes nés au centre de la France, en les appelant des Françiots, et les traiter en étrangers * * * * * * * * * Lorsqu'en 1825, 1826, je me suis occupé de procurer, à la classe ouvrière de nos départemens, les plus simples élémens des sciences appliquées aux arts, je suis tombé dans un étonnement dont j'ai peine encore à revenir, en voyant que, sur tous les points de nos immenses frontières, à Bayonne ainsi qu'à Dunkerque, à Strasbourg ainsi qu'à Quimper, à Montpellier ainsi qu'à Mulhouse, l'un des obstacles les plus grands que les professeurs avaient rencontrés s'est trouvé dans la difficulté de faire entendre le langage expressif et correct de la langue française à des hommes qui ne *pensent* couramment qu'avec le secours d'idiomes étrangers ou de patois barbares." (1)

France is more extensive than England, admits more varieties in language, character, and habits, is less amalgamated by natural and artificial communications; it is consequently less likely to adopt and circulate improvements. Whatever difference, therefore, exists between the agricultural state of England and France, it is absurd to attribute the whole of that difference to the different system of succession in the two countries.

Besides, when we speak of the different state of agriculture in England and France, we must not forget that agriculture

(1) See Appendix for translation.

has been encouraged, in the first, by an immense premium, more especially during the war; and that it has moreover owed much to the habits of speculation and expenditure springing from an extensive commerce, which, though not entirely independent of our law of inheritance, are certainly not incorporate with it.

But, if a comparison between England and France is of little value, a comparison between France and Ireland is still more absurd. Poor Ireland! if any body wants to show that this or that is pernicious to a state, away he speeds to you for an example.

"See what Catholicism produces," says the Protestant; "look at—Ireland!"

"See what an established church produces," says the dissenter;—"look at—Ireland!"

"See what a centralized legislation produces," says the repealer;—"look at Ireland!"

"See what the want of a provision against mendicity produces," says the poor-law-system man;—"look at—Ireland!"

"See what the division of land produces," says Mr. Macculloch;—"look at Ireland!"

Unhappy monopolist of misfortune—too true is it—my poor sister country, that we may always turn to you for a calamity!

But alas! if we wish for admonition, let us look for it, not in any part of your condition, but the whole. The slightest scratch becomes a gangrene when the blood of all the body is corrupt; and it is ridiculous to talk of the effects of one mischief in a state of society, which is travailed by every mischief under the sun.

What system of agriculture, I should like to know, would flourish in a nation planted by hostile races, and severed by contending creeds; amongst a people perpetually engaged in plots and pillage? If the same system of agriculture prevailed in France and in Ireland, the effects of the system would be different, as in every other respect the two countries differ. But the same system does not prevail, and never did prevail.

A small lessee is not the same person as a small proprietor; the system of subdivided leases has all the evils, and none of the advantages, of a system of subdivided properties—There is a charm in the word "own" which awakens all our prudence, and stimulates all our exertions.

Let us have no comparisons, then, between France and England, or Ireland and France.

There are reasons of themselves sufficient, not that agriculture should deteriorate, but that it should not improve so much as it otherwise might do, under the law of inheritance established and popular in France.

The more property is divided, the more space is occupied by inclosures; the more property is divided, the more space is occupied by paths and roads, by which the different parcels of land are to be approached; the more property is divided, the less liberty exists in respect to crops; you must plant at the same time as your neighbours, for you cannot traverse his ground after his crop is sown; the more property is divided, the less means are afforded for accelerating production by cattle and machines; the more property is divided, the less chance is there of any person being able to indulge in those speculations, by which, if the fortune of the individual be sometimes injured, the industry of the country is almost always improved.

These are general facts composing a theory, which as a theory it would be very difficult to refute; but does it realize the expectations it should give rise to—in the case before us?

According to this theory, wherever there is a very large property, land ought to be much better cultivated than it is upon a very small one—and yet—make the comparison in France, and you will generally find—as I have said is the case in Normandy—that the very small property is, to say the least, as well cultivated as the very large one.

According to this theory, the more the soil of France has been divided, the worse the soil of France ought to be cultivated, and yet with the division of the soil in France has advanced the art of cultivation. (1)

It is not that the division of property itself is favourable to the cultivation of land, but that it is and has been accompanied by circumstances more than sufficient to counterbalance the disadvantages likely to proceed from it.

(1) "L'aisance est beaucoup plus grande dans toutes les classes, les consommations se sont accrues dans une plus grande proportion que la population."—*M. Dombasle.*

In the first place, we must not forget that, with the extinction of a great landed aristocracy, was destroyed, beyond the possibility of revival, all those feudal privileges and disastrous imposts under which France, before the revolution, was weighed down.

In the second, we must remember that every thing in a country is affected by the presiding spirit of a country;—the individual receives a magnetic force from the impulse that is affecting the community. *In a democracy of property, the poor proprietor has an energy which the great proprietor wants.*

Among any people this would be the case, but particularly among the French; for among the French the division of property has given, to an old and powerful passion, a new and profitable vent.

Through the dark streets of Paris rattled the emblazoned coach, and along the broad road to Versailles, behold! the splendidly-liveried and the gaily-caparisoned equipages of the embroidered and brocaded court!

* * * * *

How was the vanity of the great proprietor displayed? in the wanton and extravagant expenditure of his property! How is the vanity of the small landed proprietor displayed? in the daily and difficult accumulation of his property! . The law of equal succession may not have created a new sentiment, but it has engaged, I repeat, an ancient one in a new direction. The small proprietor, in defiance of many rules which condemn him to increasing poverty, struggles on to increasing wealth; his land, which should be badly cultivated, is well cultivated, because it is cultivated with passion. If he ought not to be able to manure it, he does manure it, because he dreams, he lives, he breathes, for it; because he collects every little bit of dung, and turns every little bit of bone to advantage. He rises at four o'clock to cultivate his own strip of ground, when he would not rise till six to cultivate the ground of a master. All his energies are developed in a bad system of agriculture, and thus it becomes a good one.

I do not mean to say that France is so well cultivated as England—it is not even so well cultivated as it might be—still it is far better cultivated than any mere agricultural theory would induce us to suppose.

"But by the division of the land more persons are occupied on it than are necessary for its cultivation."

I grant it:—an estate in the possession of one proprietor may be properly farmed by ten persons; but if this estate were divided into fifteen properties, it would occupy fifteen persons, and not be better cultivated either.—The labour of five persons then is lost.

The population does not produce as much as it might do—this is the fault!

A beggar was taken up the other day as a vagabond. "How do you gain your livelihood?" said the magistrate; "By my epilepsy, please your honour," said the beggar.

There are countries which live in the same manner; which draw their power, their riches, their force, from the convulsions into which they are thrown by a peculiar constitution.

The disease is profitable; but it is still a disease.

The greater the amount of the population in every country, which depends wholly for existence upon the labour it does for others, the greater struggle will there be among that population to sustain an uncertain existence; and the greater effort the country will make in every industry by which capital is to be increased, and labour employed.

A people in this situation will become more energetic—more enterprising—more productive—more restless—more laborious—yet, dark by the side of the picture which exhibits the riches and activity, will come forth the table that displays the crimes and the misery of the population; and the legislator will find that he has not merely to consider how a nation may be made most wealthy, but how the pursuit of wealth may be made most accordant with morality, and its distribution most compatible with enjoyment.

If it were only necessary to consider the riches of a country, in order to consult the prosperity of a people, what would be the case?

The revenue of England is about 550 millions. The revenue of France 320 millions.

The revenue of England then is, in respect to its population, double the revenue of France;—but will any one pretend to say that the great mass of the people are twice as well off?

Turn to M. Villeneuve's calculation.

One *twentieth* of the population (*i. e.* 1,600,000 in 32,000,000) he reckons as "*poor*," in France.

One *sixth* of the population (*i. e.* 3,900,000 in 23,400,000) as poor, in England!!!

Has this pauperism been diminishing?

From official tables laid before the House of Commons, it appears —

1801, Population of England, 8,331,434
1831, ditto 15,009,558,

i. e. the population increased about one-third.

But during this time there has taken place a great difference in the value of money, and there has also been a reduction of taxation in many of the common articles of subsistence.

Prices in March, 1814, and in March, 1834: —

	per lb.		*per lb.*
Moist Sugar. .	15*d.*	"	7½*d.*
Candles. . .	15	"	6½
Pork. . . .	15	"	7
Soap. . . .	15	"	6½
Butter. . . .	18	"	12
Cheese. . . .	10	"	8
Lard. . . .	15	"	8
Salt, per bushel. .	21*s.*	"	2*s.* 9*d.*

Moreover we must note an extraordinary improvement, especially of late years, that every one practically acquainted with the subject will allow—in the administrative economy of the poor. If then pauperism had increased in an equal ratio with population (*i. e.* by a third), the same sum which was applied to it in 1801 would more than suffice in 1831.

Is this so?

1801 . . . . . 5,869,504*l.*
1831 6,509,466

Pauperism, then, instead of costing nearly as much as in 1801, cost in 1831 nearly double, and had consequently increased in a ratio of 3 to 1 faster than population. But at the very time that the poverty of the country had been making this

frightful advance, its riches were increasing in an equal degree. The exportation of manufactured goods,

In 1805	22,252,102*l*
1851	60,090,125

"Ay;" I may be told—"the poverty had been increasing in one part of the country, and the riches in the other."

Let us see! we will first take the three most important commercial and manufacturing districts, in two of which wealth has more than quadrupled within the thirty years I have been referring to,—has poverty decreased?

	Poor rates.
In Lancashire :	
In 1801, the poor rates amounted to. .	148,282*l*.
1851.	293,226
In Middlesex :	
In 1801.	349,200
1851.	681,567
In Nottinghamshire:	
In 1801.	44,220
1851.	72,717

Now let us turn to the agricultural districts! The agriculture of England is more advanced than the agriculture of France; and the more perfect agricultural system employs a smaller number of hands than the less perfect one.

And what is the state of the agricultural population in England? What is their state in Norfolk, where agriculture is, perhaps, brought to the greatest perfection? I could appeal to an able pamphlet, writen by a practical man, (1) which declares that, unless extensive alteration take place, the utter annihilation of all property will be the consequence of the accumulation of useless poverty.

But if I follow the same test I have hitherto adopted, a test which, though not perfectly accurate, is sufficiently so to justify the line of argument I am pursuing—if I follow this test in three agricultural counties—

(1) Mr. Richardson, of Heydon.

The poor-rates were,	1801.	1831.
Norfolk	169,735*l.*	299,357*l.*
Essex	137,140	272,593
Kent (1)	206,508	345,512

Increase *of crime in* these six counties :

	1820.	1831.
Lancashire	1,965	2,332
Middlesex	2,775	5,514
Nottingham	251	516
Norfolk	382	549
Essex	269	607
Kent	520	640

Looking then at those counties where, in two different lines, the principle of producing most by the smallest quantity of labour has been carried to its greatest perfection—the experiment, as far as the happiness and virtues of the people are concerned, does not seem to have been completely successful.

CHAPTER XV.

Population made more agricultural—Manufacturing Populations considered—Difference between the course to be pursued in England, and advice to be given to France.

But one of the great objections to the division of landed property is, that it swells the amount of the agricultural population.

"It should be remembered," says Mr. Macculloch, mourn-

(1) Increase of population in

	1801.	1831.
Nottingham	140,350	225,320
Lancashire	672,731	1,336,854
Middlesex	818,129	1,358,541
Norfolk	169,733	299,357
Essex	137,140	272,593
Kent	206,508	345,512

fully, "that the possession of a small piece of ground gives a feeling of independence to a small capitalist and a poor man, which he cannot otherwise experience."

* * * * * *

"The occupiers of small pieces of ground, though *uniformly almost* (singular expression!) in a less comfortable situation than journeymen tradesmen, are still nevertheless the objects of their envy."

Terrible thing! the occupiers of small pieces of ground are the object of envy to journeymen tradesmen who get more to eat; and the proprietor actually values the independence of his situation as much as the goodness of his meal.

Terrible thing! a rural life is more agreeable than a manufacturing one; and people may be induced, even when they do not gain so much by it, "to gratify this natural inclination."

If independence be an object of envy—if a life spent among green fields, and nourished by pure air, be more natural to the perverse inclinations of man than the additional three-halfpence a-day, which he may gain by having no independence, which he might procure amidst the putrid atmosphere of a dark and crowded workshop in the pent city—

"Woe and desolation!" exclaims the disappointed philosopher.—"Had I been God Almighty," said Sir Godfrey Kneller, "how much more beautiful should have been the sons and the daughters of the earth!"—"Had I been God Almighty," says Mr. Macculloch, "how much wiser should have been the generation of men!—none should have been visited by the miserable thought, that there was any joy in the fair sunshine, health in the fresh breeze, or happiness in the humble cottage! Had I been God Almighty, no one should have envied a man his unfortunate independence, or believed that there was any thing worth having, save that additional three halfpence, which the journeyman tradesman is so ridiculous as not to prize above every other consideration upon earth."

And so, in all discussions which take place in England on the corn laws, on free trade, on the agglomeration of landed property, it is taken by one party, the party to which I more especially belong, as an incontrovertible maxim that, if we would confine our population exclusively to towns and to ma-

nufactures, the nation must necessarily profit most considerably, because it would produce more.

I remember a gentleman, a person, moreover, for whose good opinion I have much respect, exclaiming in the House of Commons, that he wondered how I, whom he was kind enough to call his enlightened friend, could be of a different opinion.

My opinon, however, if I may presume to have one, is, that a nation does not always profit most considerably when it produces most; my opinion is, that even England, though especially a commercial and manufacturing community, has other sources of greatness besides such as are to be found in her commerce and manufactures, and that benefits have actually their bounds, which it may become dangerous and impolitic to pass. (1)

I see the advantage of collecting a population into towns, but I see also the disadvantages; and those disadvantages I should dread, if any unlimited system was to be worked out to an extravagant extent.

I look not merely to the momentary production, but to the health and happiness and character of a people, on which, let us rest assured, depends a nation's permanent prosperity.

FACTS AS TO THE UNHEALTHINESS OF MANUFACTURING TOWNS.

"He, whose duty it is," says Dr. Kay, in speaking of the visitation of the cholera, "to follow the steps of this messenger of death, must descend to the abodes of poverty, must frequent the close alleys, the crowded courts, the overpeopled habitations of wretchedness, *where pauperism and disease congregate round the source of social discontent and political disorder in the centre of our large towns, and behold with alarm in the hotbed of pestilence, ills that fester in secret, at the very heart of society.*"

(1) A country is no more powerful and great solely on account of its wealth, than it is happy only on that account; it is powerful and great for the energy and the character which the pursuit of wealth creates, but that pursuit must be properly directed to the character that is to be produced; and if less riches are attained where nobler passions are developed, poor is the spirit of the legislator who sets any dignity above that of the mind.

"There are a few incontrovertible facts," says Dr. Robertson, "not adverted to perhaps by the secluded political writer, but which those who mingle in the busy world of a vast manufacturing community will scarcely refuse to admit. One of these is, that sedentary and other occupations, which wholly exclude the artisan, at all seasons, and from a very early age, from the pure air and the green face of nature, generally give rise to some degree of derangement of the health, manifested primarily in the stomach and bowels, and also render the mind torpid and irritable: further, that this uncomfortable condition of body and mind, existing in almost every individual of great masses of people, crowded together in factories, and in the narrow streets and yards, where they have their habitations, is apt gradually to increase and to be aggravated by the very means but too commonly adopted to obtain relief: which are, habitual or frequent drunkenness, the stimulus of crude and fantastical politics, the still stronger stimulus of riot and uproar, and not unfrequently, as the recent annals of our country unhappily attest, of savage or malignant crime."

The state of the cotton-manufacturers has occupied the attention of Parliament since 1802, when the late Sir R. Peel obtained an act of parliament for the protection of parish apprentices employed in them.

In 1819, the hours of labour, and the ages of children working in cotton-mills was first regulated, and since that time, up to 1831, four other acts passed, having in view the same object.

The irremedial circumstances of this occupation are, in themselves, melancholy to consider. The small particles of cotton and dust, with which the air is impregnated in such factories, almost necessarily maintain a perpetual irritation of the lungs, which leads frequently to consumption.

Add to this, meagre food, a sickly appetite craving excitement, and toil of so unvarying and unremitting a kind, as almost to extinguish in the cotton-weaver the habits and faculties of a man. (1)

(1) "When we consider the unremitted labour of the whole population engaged in the various branches of the cotton-manufacture, our wonder will be less excited by their fatal demoralization.

"Prolonged and exhausting labour continued from day to day, and from year to year, is not calculated to develope the intellectual or

Turn to other trades, what a frightful picture of toil!

moral faculties of man. The dull routine of ceaseless drudgery, in which the same mechanical process is incessantly repeated, resembles the torment of Sisiphus, — toil, *like the rock, recoils perpetually on the wearied operative.* The mind gathers neither stores nor strength from the constant extension of the muscles. The intellect slumbers in supine inertness, but the grosser parts of our nature obtain a rank development.

"To condemn men to such severity of toil is, in some measure, *to cultivate in him the habits of an animal.* He becomes reckless. He disregards the distinguishing appetites and habits of his species. He lives in squalid wretchedness, on meagre food, and expends his superfluous gains in debauchery.

"The population employed in the cotton-factories rises at five o'clock in the morning; works in the mills from six till eight o'clock, and returns home, for half an hour or forty minutes, to breakfast. This meal generally consists of tea or coffee, with a little bread. Oatmeal porridge is sometimes, but of late rarely, used, and chiefly by the men, but the stimulus of tea is preferred, and especially by the women. The tea is almost always of a bad, and sometimes of a deleterious quality; the infusion is weak, and little or no milk is added. The operatives return to the mills and workshops until twelve o'clock, when an hour is allowed for dinner. Amongst those who obtain the lower rates of wages, this meal generally consists of boiled potatoes. The mess of potatoes is put into one large dish; melted lard and butter are poured upon them, and a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes mingled with them, and but seldom a little meat. They all plunge their spoons into the dish, and with an animal eagerness satisfy the cravings of their appetite. At the expiration of the hour, they are all again employed in the workshops or mills, where they continue until seven o'clock or a later hour, when they generally again indulge in the use of tea, often mingled with spirits, accompanied by a little bread."

Hours of labour of other trades than cotton-spinning, in which children are employed, in conjunction with adults (delivered in and proved on oath in the House of Lords, in 1818 and 1819, and inserted in Appendix to Evidence)—34.

Earthenware and porcelain.	Staffordshire and Derby.	. . . . .	12 to 15 hours daily.
Iron-works, forges, and mills.	Warwickshire and Staffordshire.	Boys employed at 8 years of age . .	12 hours daily, and in alternate weeks 12 *hours nightly*
Collieries . .	. . . . .	Begin at 8 years	12 hours daily, *under ground.*
Glass-trade . .	Warwickshire and Staffordshire.	Children employed from 9 to 10 years old.	12 hours daily—or 12 *hours nightly.*
Wire-card-makers	Halifax . .	Employ *chiefly* children	12 to 13 hours daily.
Watch-makers .	Coventry . .	. . . . .	12 hours daily in winter, 14 in summer.
Pin-makers . .	. . . . .	Employ younger children than the cotton-mills of that place.	14 hours daily.
Needle-makers .	Gloucester . .	. . . . .	13 hours daily.
Manufacturers of arms.	Birmingham .	Children begin from 7 to 9 years old,	13 hours daily.

Hours of labour of other trades than cotton-spinning, in which children are employed, in conjunction with adults (delivered in and proved on oath in the House of Lords, in 1818 and 1819, and inserted in Appendix to Evidence)—34.

Worsted-mills	Leeds	. . . . .	13 hours daily.
Ditto	Manchester	. . . . .	14 hours daily.
Flax-mills	Leeds	. . . . .	13 hours daily.
Hosiery	Leicester	Boys, girls, and women and men employed.	12 hours in winter, 13 in summer.
Ditto	Nottingham	. . . . .	15 hours daily.
Ditto	Mansfield	Employ a great number of children	Hours longer than in any cotton-mill in that neighbourhood.
Lace-manufactory	Ditto	Children employed as soon as they can use the needle.	Ditto.
Ditto	Nottingham	Children employed at 7 years old, and upwards.	12 hours daily.
Ditto	Tiverton	. . . . .	14 hours daily.
Silk-mills	Nottingham	Children at 8 years old	13 hours daily.
Ditto	Congleton	Employ near 2,000 children, of whom the *greater part* are children from 5 years upwards.	12 hours daily.

Hours of labour of other trades than cotton-spinning, in which children are employed, in conjunction with adults (delivered in and proved on oath in the House of Lords, in 1818 and 1819, and inserted in Appendix to Evidence)—34.

Draw-boy weaving.	Paisley . .	Children from 7 years old, upwards, extensively employed as drawers to weavers.	15 hours daily.
Cotton-weavers. by hand.	Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, etc.	Children at all ages work the same hours as adults.	14 to 16 hours daily.
Draw-boy weaving.	Glasgow . .	In one village, near 1,000 children from 8 to 12 years old, are employed.	Till 11 or 12 at *night*, or *even* till *one* in the morning.
Worsted-mills . .	Norwich . .	Girls begin at 10 years old . . .	14 hours daily, part of the people all night.
Calico-printing .	Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, etc.	Boys employed from 8 years old . .	12 to 14, 15, and 16 hours daily, and sometimes *all night*.
Worsted-mills . .	Halifax. . .	. . . . .	14 to 15, and 16 hours daily, and sometimes *all night*.

Are we to wonder that the proportion of deaths to the population in Lancashire is 1 to 35—greater than in any other county of England,—excepting Warwick (32); Surrey (32); Kent (30); and Middlesex (47);—and considerably above the average of England, which is 1 in 38.)—that in Manchester it is 1 in 45, and in Glasgow something more. But this system of calculating is one the most favourable to manufactures, because persons of a healthy habit die frequently in the country, when attacked by acute disease, from the want of prompt attendance.

"In manufacturing towns, the case is widely different." (I quote a very remarkable pamphlet published in 1831, called "Enquiry into the state of the manufacturing population.") "Few, if any, die from want of medical assistance. They are supplied with every aid which skill or charity can bestow; but the diseases which prevail are of a nature which, *without suddenly destroying life* or even *shortening it materially, deprive it of health or enjoyment, and render it little else than* A CHRONIC MALADY.

"Who, living in the neighbourhood of our manufacturing establishments, has not seen *children entering them at ten or twelve years of age with the beaming eye, the rosy cheek, and the elastic step of youth; and then losing the gaiety and light-heartedness of early existence*, and the colour and complexion of health, and the vivacity of intellect, and the insensibility to care, which are the natural characteristics of that tender age, under the withering influence of laborious confinement, ill-oxygenated air, and unwholesome diet?"

Nor is it only the children brought up in health who are inoculated with disease; others receive this malediction from their birth.

The mothers who are employed from home are obliged to put out their infants to nurse, where the cries of those wretched little beings are stopped by opium, and their diseases aggravated by spirituous liquors. (1)

I have dwelt thus long upon the health of a manufacturing

(1) The quantity of opium which, from habit, some children become capable of taking, is almost incredible, and the effects are correspondingly destructive. Even when the infants have a healthy appearance at birth, they almost uniformly become, in a few months, puny and

population, because it seems a fact generally overlooked. I would now call attention to their conduct.

In the course of my inquiries on this subject, I have met with two or three tables, to all appearance very laboriously compiled, and quoted from a variety of authorities, the names of which were respectable enough.

I should have given them, for they proved what I do not doubt, viz.—That a far greater number of crimes, more especially of crimes against property, are perpetrated in the manufacturing than in the agricultural countries of Europe. But, strange to say, on referring to such official documents as were within my reach, though I came speedily to the same result as the tables in question, I hardly found one of their figures correspond with those before me, and there is in general, I believe, as much of guess-work as of any thing else in the framing of those imposing-looking statistics which are meant to *settle* the doubting or inquisitive reader.

Common sense is here better than any arithmetical rhetoric, and all the principles of human nature will tell us, that men congregated into great multitudes, surrounded by objects of ease and luxury, a contrast to their own poverty, acquiring amidst their sedentary pursuits some knowledge, but receiving, in the present state of society, no corresponding moral education, undergoing perpetual alternations from high wages to low, and having their wants regulated therefore by no fixed means of supply, must of all persons be those most likely to acquire habits of thieving and peculation.

The facts published by the Board of Trade lead us therefore but naturally to the same conclusion. Taking the six counties I have already named,

sickly in their aspect, and a very large proportion fall victims to bronchitis, hydrocephalus, etc.

Gin also is given to infants, in a manner certain to increase the disease, when they complain of those pains in their stomachs which unhealthy diet has produced.—*Dr. Kay.*

1831.		Crimes.	Populat.	Crimes.	Population.
Lancashire Mid. Notts.	Manuf.	1	in 488 or	6,182	in 2,920,715
Essex. Kent. Norfolk.	Agricul.	1	in 510 or	1,796	in 917,462

But discard Norfolk, which may be a doubtful county, and take,

Manufacturing. 1831.	Crimes.		Average. crime	pop.
Cheshire.	513.	334,410		
Lancashire	2,352.	1,336,854		
Middlesex.	3,514.	1,358,541		
Northumberland.	108.	222,912	1 in	5,645.
Nottingham.	316.	225,320		
Stafford.	644.	410,483		
Warwick.	655.	336,988		
York.	127.	1,167,288		
Total	9,382	5,292,796.		

Agricultural. 1831.	Crimes.		crime	pop.
Berkshire.	291.	195,289		
Essex.	607.	317,237		
Hertford.	194.	143,341		
Kent.	640.	479,155	1 in	6,956.
Hampshire.	567.	314,318		
Wiltshire.	568.	329,181		
Devonshire	399.	494,168		
Westmorland.	17.	55,041		
Total	3,207	2,287,725.		

I lay far greater stress however upon the opinion that intelligent gentleman Mr. Capper, so well conversant with this subject, has decidedly expressed to me, than upon any such necessarily imperfect calculations as those I have gone into. (1) I lay far greater stress also upon the vices which all who have observed our manufacturing districts have remarked

(1) The best authority we have for the number of crimes committed is the number of committals, which cannot be perfectly accurate; nor have we officially published any consecutive statement year by year, or for a number of years taken together, of crime and population.

there, which vice must at once be the parents and the offspring of crime.

Drunkenness, then, seems a vice habitual among most manufacturing populations, and even in a certain degree excusable, inasmuch as that it proceeds from the debility, and necessity for stimulants, attendant upon much confinement.

Neither is it astonishing,—where both sexes are addicted to drink, in a continued state of unnatural irritation, and promiscuously brought, at a very early age, into daily communion —that the senses should be marked by an early and sterile excitement.

"The fact," says our inquirer, (1) "undoubtedly is, that the licentiousness which prevails among the dense population of manufacturing towns, is carried to a degree appalling to contemplate, bafiling all statistical inquiries, and to be learned only from the testimony of personal observers."

Such are the habits of our manufacturing towns, not sketched by me, but by persons long and well acquainted with them.

But let me draw a concluding picture!

There is, somewhere in the world, a city where—

One half of the inhabitants are so utterly destitute, as to have their offspring brought into the world by the aid of public charity.

Three fourths of the inhabitants so sickly as to be under medical treatment.

The cases of charitable relief, in this city, doubled in four years, and in a population of 142,026, the acts of parochial relief, each continued through an indefinite period of time, were 521,172. Here, in 687 streets inspected, 248 were unpaved, 53 partially paved, 112 ill ventilated, 332 containing heaps of refuse, stagnant pools, ordure, etc., etc.

(1) And in addition to overt acts of vice, there is a coarseness and grossness of feeling, and an habitual indecency of conversation, which, we would fain hope and believe, are not the prevailing characteristics of our country. The effect of this upon the minds of the young will readily be conceived; and is it likely that any instruction, or education, or Sunday schools, or sermons, can counteract the baleful influence, the contagion of this moral depravity which reigns around them!—*Inquiry into the state of the manufacturing population.*

Here, in 6,951 houses inspected, 960 wanted repair, 1,435 were damp, 452 ill-ventilated, 2,569 wanted white-washing.

The houses of the poor sometimes surround a common area, into which the windows and doors open at the back of the building.

Porkers, who feed pigs in the town, often contract with the inhabitants to pay some small sum for the rent of their area, which is immediately covered with pig-sties, and converted into a dung-heap and receptacle of the pestilent garbage upon which the animals are fed, as also of the refuse, which is now heedlessly flung into it from all the surrounding dwellings. The offensive odour which sometimes arises from these areas cannot be conceived.

Add to this!

One privy on an average to 250 persons; and 450 gin-shops among a people thus reduced by sickness, pauperism, and filth.

"I observed," says a person, residing on this spot, "the number of persons entering ONE of these (gin) shops in five minutes during eight successive Saturday evenings, and at various periods from seven till ten; the average result was 142 men and 165 *women*, or 275 in forty minutes, which is equal to 415 per hour.

"It is painful to know that *children* and young *girls* are initiated into this fatal practice at a very early age."

Now what town am I describing? What part of the world am I alluding to? Where is this wretched haunt of loathsome misery and vice?

Let us visit it! we shall see commerce gathering into her storehouses the produce of every clime; and industry, toiling with indefatigable zeal, to surpass in wealth all the nations of the world. The city I have been describing is *Manchester*—one of the first manufacturing cities in the first manufacturing country in the universe!

You may tell me that this is a necessary sacrifice of human happiness to human grandeur, and that our nation would never have been so powerful, but for the incessant labour of its people.

I acknowledge it, as I acknowledge that the pyramids would never have been built, if the race of Egypt had not been slaves.

But you may tell me that the vices of a system are not necessarily compatible with its existence, and that the great mass of

the English need not be so miserable a race, yet that England might remain the mart of the world.—I acknowledge it; and I might say in England, do not change your system, but make every endeavour to destroy its defects! Still I own, that seeing such a system in England, loaded with such defects, I should pause before I told France, in the stern voice of imperative philosophy, to imitate the course we had pursued.

There is a great difference in preserving what exists by amelioration, and changing what is good in the hope of improvement.

I remember to this day a picture which hung up over the door of my little study at Harrow, the picture of a very robust and corpulent couple, in consultation with a quack doctor.

"What's the matter, my friend?" says the pharmacopolist. "Why, Sir, we eats wery well—we drinks wery well—we sleeps wery well; but, somehow or other, we feels wery querish." "Ha! Ha!—you eat very well—you drink very well—you sleep very well.—I'll give you something, good people, that will take away all those disagreeable symptoms."

I wish I had this picture before me now; I would venture to send it with my very humble compliments to some one of the gentlemen whose voyages I have had occasion to notice, or, if I might take so great a liberty, I would present it, most respectfully, to Mr. Macculloch himself.

There is something really too absurd in the calm and decided way with which we tell a people, whom we confess to be decently well off, that if they did but know it, they are in the most melancholy condition.

Nor is this all; although I believe, with the persons from whom I have largely quoted, that many of the evils I have observed, as existing amongst ourselves, are capable of a remedy, I yet believe that there are certain evils we must be content to submit to.

A manufacturing population will be more liable to those physical complaints which, in affecting the digestive organs, create at once a disposition to discontent and to drink: it will then, under equal influences of education, be more liable to moral depravity and to political agitation: its lot also, more exposed to local fluctuations, is more difficult to reconcile with stable legislation.

"Déjà," said M. Pasquier, 29th March 1826, "on en a subi dans ce pays (l'Angleterre) des conséquences qui méritent de fixer l'attention des législateurs et des hommes d'état. Pour quiconque ne se dissimule pas de combien de chances sont entourés les travaux manufacturiers, il est permis de n'être pas sans inquiétude, à la longue, sur le sort d'une masse aussi considérable d'individus auxquels une guerre malheureuse ou une habile rivalité peuvent enlever presque subitement la plus grande partie de son existence."

But if a country like England, occupied by a race, slow of disposition, and capable of much endurance—if such a country has any thing to fear from a large manufacturing population—what would be the case in France?

Evoke the events of Lyons! See a people impatient of suffering, eager of hope, careless of consequences, fighting in every house, barricading every street, and signalizing each disastrous epoch of commercial speculation by a political revolution or revolt!

Besides, with the manufactures of England is, in a certain degree, connected the naval power of England, and we, the children of an isle, my countrymen, must be great as a naval nation.

But if we are destined to carry to new lands the cares and interests of civilization—we, whose home is on the ocean.—another fate is attached to the people, who have to defend those interests on yonder continent.

What the English are, as a maritime people, the French are as a military people—and show me the successful army which was not drafted from an agricultural population!

Besides: The division of landed property, in attaching to the soil a large proportion of the inhabitants of France, not only makes good soldiers, but makes good soldiers of good citizens.

The recruit, who leaves his father's cot for the camp, returns from the camp to cultivate his own field; he does not readily lend himself to the government against the nation, because he is part of the nation.

"Avec une plus grande division des propriétés, l'esprit de propriétaire se répand nécessairement dans une plus grande portion de la société—;" (*) the labouring classes, elsewhere

(*) M. Pasquier.

denounced as the lovers of change, become here the protectors of order; and to the warrior uprises an interest not inferior to that of his sword.

A country of proprietors may know many transitions, but it can know no convulsions; and when the revolution of 1830 differed from that of 1789, it was because the one was a revolution of paupers—the other a revolution of proprietors.

CHAPTER XVI.

Though the example of France may not be a wise one for all countries to imitate, it appears a wise one for her to have adopted—The Law of Primogeniture not sanctioned by private right, though it may by public advantage—Real results arising from it—Past conduct defective—Fate of Aristocracy in England.

It follows, from all I have just been saying, that though I in no wise mean to assert that the example of France ought to be universally followed, yet that I believe the laws of succession she has established for herself, capable of salutary modifications, are the best adapted to the character, the position, the happiness of her people.

Her riches do not increase so fast as ours; but they increase in a happy proportion with her intelligence and population.

The comforts of the great masses of her inhabitants are, to say the least, as great as that of our own labourers, and upon the whole their condition is better. To use the words of Mr. Birkbeck, "there are in France none of those exhibitions of profligacy which disgust you at every step in our country villages—no ragged wretches staggering home from a filthy alehouse—nor is this to be attributed to poverty! the earnings of the labourer are at least one third more in proportion than in England."—(P. 101—2.)

In fact, the man who cultivates his own field is morally a different man from the one who cultivates the field of another.

It is with a nobler and a better mind that he pursues his toil.

He has a motive for energy which at once awakes his prudence and developes his affections. (1)

It is the feeling of independence which Mr. Macculloch condemns, and which property gives, that raises the heart of the French peasant; making him a better soldier, a better citizen, a better husband, a better father.

But if the passion for property has improved the character of the lower classes, the division of property has produced a beneficial effect upon the character of the upper.

It has replaced the ridiculous ostentation of the old courtly time, by a perfect indifference to style and show.

It has brought into manly companionship the man of wealth, the man of letters, the artist and the legislator, the noble and the manufacturer of cotton; it has destroyed prejudices which have been long passing away in England, but which, we must not forget, existed, in full force, in France but fifty years ago.

It has made a parent the friend of his child instead of the patron; it has made the son obey his father from affection, instead of adulating him from interest. "Ah! on le voit trop," said Mirabeau, in that celebrated oration read by M. de Talleyrand after his death, "ce sont les pères qui ont fait ces lois (the old laws then existing), mais en les faisant ils n'ont pensé qu'à leur empire, et ils ont oublié leur paternité;" yes; the parents of those times thought too much of their power, too little of their paternity!—nor can I, for my own part, bow before that prejudice which arises from an absurd confusion of ideas, and concedes, because a man may dispose of his fortune as he pleases during his life, that he has the same privilege after his death.

There is as much difference between the rights of a man alive

(1) "It is usual for a youth of sixteen to hire himself as a domestic servant in agriculture, and when he arrives at twenty-one or twenty-two, to have laid up 400 or 500 francs—(16*l.* or 20*l.*)—With 400 francs he buys a cottage and marries;—his wife has probably a little portion. He has an opportunity also of buying 1,500 square toises (nearly an acre and a half, English) of uncultivated mountain land—rocky and poor, but fit for vines—for this he pays fifteen or twenty francs, and becomes proprietor, having a constant resource of profitable industry in winter when work may be scarce."—(*Bakbeck*, p. 60.)

and dead, as between death and life. The rights you derive from society are the result of duties you have to perform to society; talk then of the rights of a defunct—what are his duties?

How many instances are there where the testament which asserts the one violates the other! How many instances are there, where the dead man commits an act of injustice from behind the tomb, which he dared not have committed in the face of public opinion!

It is not the dead father who has rights, but the living son. He has a right to the fortune left in the world by the persons who brought him into the world. He has this right equally, whether he was born first or last. The parent has no natural power over the goods he has left behind; they belong, in simple justice, to all his children. But the state has a power to supersede private rights on public grounds—and here—and here alone, is the basis on which the law of primogeniture can be founded, or the custom sanctioned and maintained.

Alas! for the mother who has watched her four sons receiving the same education, and imbibing the same desires; who has guarded the equality of their boyhood, and is now expecting the moment when hf 's inequalities are to commence, and they who have been playfellows and brothers are to become acquaintances and men! Lo! to one a fortune, which pampers desire—to the rest, a poverty made insupportable by education. Alas! I say, for the mother who sees her youngest born thrown into the world—tortured by its ambition and exposed to its temptations—crossing the seas to climes which harbour pestilence and death; sitting in the morning of life, surrounded by dark cares, in the gloomy corner of a counting-house; driven, in the despair of an unsatisfied and querulous existence, to the turf, to the gambling-house! and now, across that bright spot in the heart where hope was made compatible with honour, passes the upspringing shadow of those mean and desperate thoughts which, while they offer only an ignoble object, excite a terrible determination. I see you too, unhappy woman! gazing bitterly on the blighted and drying-up youth of yonder daughter—on the cheek yellow and pale, on the bosom disappearing and the eye fading;—I see your agony as you turn away from the encouragement of that poor girl's affections, because forsooth she loves

a younger brother, and has but a poor sister's portion! Who shall comfort you by saying that your eldest born keeps his forty hunters?

But in this private injustice there is, I do not deny it, a great political combination. Individual affection is not sacrificed without the idea of procuring state advantage; a certain class is created, defending the crown, protecting the people—a certain class, carrying into the state that principle of conservation to which it owes the transmission of its own power—furnishing, in its names and its position, a history of the past and an example to the future.

The real and great result of the system of inheritance, adopted by France, as compared with that system which still maintains, and which, let me allow the truth, is still cherished by many of all classes, in England,—is—not the minute and dangerous division of land, but—the separation of land from the name of its hereditary possessor. The soil of a province may be no more divided than it was; but in ten years—still having the same number of proprietors—it may have changed those proprietors fifty times. Thus ends the connection between a particular family and a particular spot of ground; a connection which, whatever be the barbarity of its origin, we have long been accustomed to consider natural, and to environ with our tender respect. Thus perish those associations that yet cling to the venerable avenue and antiquated porch—associations which—let us not deny it—decorate human nature, and give to the present generation, so insufficient in itself, the memory of times gone by. Thus pass away those feelings which of old taught the peasant to believe he was born under the wing of a legitimate protector; feelings which, whether feudal or patriarchal, sprang from something stronger than prejudice, even if they be not consecrated by philosophy.

Adieu to you, vestiges, dim and daily-fading, of other days!—You vanish altogether, should that principle vanish, which has placed England for centuries under the sway of an aristocracy, not forgetful of itself, but still mindful, I admit, of the greatness and the honour of the country.

You who would defend this aristocracy, will best do so—not by denying its faults, but by placing by the side of those faults its virtues; not by saying that it is careless of place, repudiative

of pensions, uncorrupted by kingly favour or vulgar applause; but by asserting that, in spite of its various temptations, and its various transgressions, it, nevertheless, has had a heart, alive to its country's greatness—and not insensible to popular rights. This aristocracy it was which carried through the camps of contending parties—which saved from the fanatic hands of Cromwell, from the faithless guardianship of Charles, which rescued from the tyranny of James, and did not lay at the feet of William —those inspiring principles which make a nation consist in a nation's people, and of which the English, though they may now be surpassed by their disciples, were the great original apostles. This aristocracy it was which, when the sovereigns of Europe were prostrate at the feet of a military despot, alone, and fearlessly placed themselves athwart his path. Nor would there, perchance, at this moment, be a democracy in France, if at the time of which I am speaking, there had not been an aristocracy in England! In truth, the nobility of this country, notwithstanding their errors, have been a great and illustrious race, such as few chronicles can show and few nations ever possessed; nor would I be the mean and unjust traducer of a body, that may have a date assigned to it, but of which the glory and the recollection will long remain.

If such a nobility fall—it will fall, not because it was exposed to the rant and cant of any raving demagogue—but because, placed in a new state of society, its old place no longer remains to it; because, inheriting the possessions of other times, it has not inherited the respect which yet attaches to yonder portraits in our ancestral halls; because other ideas have created other superiorities, and stript an order still disposed to struggle of all faith in its force!

Those periods come rarely, but there are periods when expediency ceases to be a question; and lo! as on the walls of Babylon is seen the hand of Necessity tracing terrible things!

BOOK V.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

But we'll descant on general nature ;
This is a system, not a satire.—*Prior's Poems.*

CHAPTER I.

The two questions still left to trial—The condition of society and the method of government among the French people.

THE reader, who has kindly followed me thus far, will be sensible that I have very imperfectly, but still with some industry, attempted to bring before him a variety of subjects which lead me naturally to those I am now entering upon.

In the first volume, after a description of the gay capital of France, to which a voyager's attention is first directed, I sought for the peculiar characteristics of the French people. Those characteristics, partly the effect of temperament, but partly likewise the effect of accident and custom, induced me to travel back over such events as it was fair to presume the present generation had been affected by. The state of existing parties (the postscript to all past history,) furnished me then of necessity with a few pages. But, from the character and history of a people arise certain influences by which present parties, sometimes sensibly, sometimes less visibly, are directed towards the future.

Such influences I ventured to describe. One, however, was omitted; for I felt anxious to trace its power through the organs by which an age expresses itself, before I treated directly of itself. Literature in its various branches, including the press—religion, and those new doctrines which are called philosophies—all furnished me with proofs that the state of property in a country extends over every thing within it. Thus I came to the state of property in France;—and of that I have just been speaking.

Now, it is on the character, on the history, on the state of property in a nation—expressed in various ways—that the social condition, and the method of government in that nation depend.

These are the two questions still left to us:

The condition of society—the method of government—in France!

MANNERS.

CHAPTER II.

The sociability of the French—Charm of French society—Descriptions, traits, sayings—Facts.

THE first thing that strikes one in social France is the characteristic sociability of French people. A Frenchman cannot be alone; he lives for the movement of a crowd and the clang of conversation. You would hardly find, from Calais to Marseilles, three persons of that large class in England, but more especially in Germany, who pass their lives with their own thoughts. No reputation that Frenchmen possess, no situation in which they are, can reconcile them to the loss—not of friendly intercourse with those whom they esteem and love—that we all prize:—no: what they pine at losing is—the jargon and chatter of a parcel of persons totally indifferent to them. There was Madame de Staël, who saw only, in the success of her works, the filling of her drawing-room! (1) and so, even in the woods of America, "my countryman," says Lemontey, "will often quit his cabin, and take a walk of five hundred leagues, just to have a chat in New Orleans!"

The German dislikes conversation, for it distracts him from his meditations. The Englishman dislikes conversation, for it distracts

(1) "Mon salon redevint peuplé, et je retrouvai ce plaisir *de causer à Paris*, qui, j'avoue, a toujours été pour moi le plus piquant de tous."

him from his affairs. The Frenchman both thinks and acts, in order to talk about what he has done and reflected upon.

Thus, society is divided into small cliques and classes, where every one, by tacit arrangement, is allowed to speak of himself and to collect around him a kind of social republic, each member of which takes a conventional interest in the other's affairs. Every circle has its great men, its very great men, and its GENIUS,— like the Chinese, considering all without it but the corners of the world. This renders France the only country, perhaps, where a foreigner, going from place to place, and from house to house, may form a juster estimate of persons and opinions, than a native can do; for the native is less a citizen of his city than of his clique. He sees things through a glass, which can only carry to a particular distance, and which only represents through the medium of a particular colour. Nothing is so happy for inferiority, or so fatal to superiority. The one is flattered into the belief of talent, the other into the belief of perfection. But if the statesman and the author suffer, it is impossible to say, without experience, how much social intercourse gains. Society becomes, in fact, a family, invested with the charm, and yet relieved from the monotony of relationship. The poet feels a pride in the success of the orator, the orator in that of the poet. The mineralogist is enchanted with the discovery of the chemist; and the chemist rejoices in that which has been made by the mineralogist. The beauty takes an interest in the conquests made by her circle, and the chaperone, in the mariages. The stranger who enters a certain drawing-room finds himself immediately amongst a number of friends, and becomes, in an instant, if he pleases, the friend of all.

You, who observe the world, will frequently have seen, that no one admires gaiety so much as a person of a serious turn of mind, and that in two bosom friends you may often find the pattern of joviality and ease, and the model of frigidity and formality. I believe there is much of this in the way in which an Englishman is struck by France, and the attachment which, if he reside there, he will be apt to feel for it.

The easy and uncreaking manner in which the world moves on all its hinges, the facility with which you may see every thing that is to be seen, and go to every place that is to be gone to;—the noiseless step with which you glide into the circle ac-

customed to receive you, and to which you are ushered by no trumpet sound of invitation;—the carelessness with which you can slip from society into solitude, and from solitude into society, without any question as to where you have been, or any effort to regain your dropped acquaintance;—the familiarity, and yet the variety, which attends your steps, as you drive from house to house, in search of one that shall occupy you for the evening;—the happy way in which letters, and science, and even politics and the arts, are mingled together in happy and classical confusion;—all this—so different from the well-dressed drudgery with which we toil to keep in sight of a monotonous crowd—the perpetual effort and the perpetual failure to be amused—the miserable Morning Post notoriety which glimmers upon a miserable race, as the substitute for reputation;—all this, which, concentrated, forms a kind of sun for society, and breathes upon it the lazzaroni feeling of careless, voluptuous, independent enjoyment—all this—by the worn, and stiff, and jaded Englishman—accustomed to nothing of pleasure but the wearisomeness of its chace—is welcomed with a grateful sense of delight, such as he never before experienced, and never afterwards forgets.

There is one difficulty, in a chapter of this kind, which a writer necessarily has to encounter. Some people expect him to depicture every drawing-room he has entered, and, as a return for the civility he has met with, to set forth with severity the eccentricities of his hosts:—others again accuse him of frivolity, if he descends from dissertation, and deem that the dignity of an author should elevate him above all descriptions. A miserable and frivolous curiosity I should be loth to indulge; but my object is to interest all classes of good-natured persons; while I do not deem any thing beneath a writer's attention which amuses a reader without perverting him, and pourtrays a country without insulting it.

DESCRIPTIONS.

A Public Sitting of the Institute.—Éloge funèbre.

Behold that old grey-headed academician in spectacles, and that young and smirking coquette in feathers; and that dandy with a gold-headed cane; and that veteran with the grand cross of the legion of honour! But you are not at the Opera—nor at

the Théâtre Français—nor at the Variétés. You are at the Institut! —at a public sitting of the Institut—and sages and soldiers, and beaux and beauties, are all come to listen to yonder gentleman with a manuscript before him and TWO glasses of water! Thus it is that science, as smart as fashion, talks to the world with the air of the world, about one of her departed professors. For in France she is not a recluse; the finest gentlemen and ladies are on terms of visiting acquaintance with her.

THE CHAMBER OF PEERS.

This room—at one of the extremities of Paris, and in that hotel of the Luxembourg where the Directory, entering upon their functions with two chairs and a table, maintained the war fearlessly against Europe—is pretty and unimposing, in the form of a semicircle, and surrounded by boxes like a theatre.

Every peer has his chair and his bureau, and from the quiet that reigns on all occasions—state trials excepted—you may guess pretty well that this assembly, though it contains many of the most distinguished men of the day, has no very active share in the government. The most inspiring thing about it is the Austrian flag, which now once again waves over the president's head, enlivened, to all appearance, by its long sojourn in M. de Semonville's cellar. (1)

THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

"Monsieur.... *gesticule beaucoup* et *crie vivement* de sa place;" from this very common and descriptive phrase, our idea of a French deputy is taken, and, if we drew from our imagination, we should paint, as the Chamber of Deputies, an assemblage of little gentlemen, all gesticulating very much, and shrieking from their places, in accompaniment to one gesticulating still more, and shrieking still louder at the tribune. But this would not be a fair portrait. The newspapers which give these

(1) These trophies were supposed to have been taken from Paris at the time of the occupation; but no: they had been carefully and secretly—very carefully and secretly—preserved by the Grand Référendaire, who, when his patriotism is doubted, appeals to this glorious exhumation.

descriptions are far more gesticulatory than the orators they describe. The French chamber, notwithstanding the "*ici le Président sonne*"—"*ici la chambre est en émeute*," is upon the whole more orderly than ours. No gentleman ever testifies his natural propensity to bray or to crow, nor are there even such violent coughs caught there, as the air of the House of Commons is frequently—and as it seems to me, I confess, sometimes very naturally—impregnated with. The interruptions too, that "the orator" (to use the magnificent expression given the gentleman speaking in France,) meets with—are rather of a nature to animate and draw him on, than to put him out. It is not inattention, but attention which is apt to be noisy. It is only the person accustomed to the agitations of popular assemblies who experiences interruption, and he who, if a skilful master of his art, has frequently studied how to procure a remark, a contradiction, or a smile, gladly seizes the occasion to bring forth, as an impromptu retort, the more elaborate part of his discourse.

What would our discussions appear, if the countenances of the audience were watched, and its whispers noted?—"Here Mr. O'Connell frowned,"—"Here Lord Stanley started,"—"Here Sir Robert Peel looked attentive,"—"Here Lord John Russell smiled,"—"movement of impatience to the left"—"movement of anger to the right,"—"the House much agitated,"—"the speaker, evidently affected, cried *order* three times in a sonorous voice." The difference is more in the reporting than the proceedings. The ringing of the bell to be sure is indecorous, and the president's manner too much that of a schoolmaster, who says, "hold your tongue! be quiet sir! don't talk! mind your lesson!" etc. The tribune, also, though less formal than one imagines it, still gives a theatrical and rhetorical tone to the discussion, which is admirably avoided in the simplicity of our own debates.

FRENCH ELOQUENCE.

The style of French eloquence, indeed, in this popular assembly, is that which strikes an English listener the most, because it is what he least expects, or is least accustomed to. With the exception of Monsieur Dupin, who, with a good deal of pedantry, mixes up the ease and abruptness of our own way of speaking,

reminding you, now of Lord Brougham, and now of Mr. O'Connell,—with the exception of M. Dupin, and I must add M. Thiers, who carries into discussion all that is witty, brilliant, and striking in conversation—with these two exceptions, the parliamentary men of France proceed with a stately and solemn march totally inconsistent with our ideas of the most frivolous, and lively, and volatile people upon earth.

Certainly it would be very difficult for any one who read the two discourses translated into German, and who was acquainted solely with the characters of the two countries, to believe that Lord Brougham's light-hearted and passionate effusion on Reform was delivered by the Lord Chancellor of England, or that Monsieur Royer Collard's profound metaphysical disquisition on the peerage was the popular speech of the Chamber of Deputies. The two nations, on crossing the threshold of their representative assemblies, seem to exchange characters. The life, the animation, the action of the French citizen passes into the English orator. The cold, abstruse, and deeply reflective spirit of the English philosopher transmigrates into the volatile person of the French statesman. And this is to be remarked—even in the first French Revolution (except in moments of peculiar excitement, when men were striving for their lives, rather than contending for any legislative theory), the same cold and philosophic tone was perceptible. The usual style of the passionate and impetuous Mirabeau himself, whose character and energy were rather displayed in short, abrupt, and timely exclamations, such as the reply to M. de Brézé, than in lengthened discourses, wore so much the appearance of the calm meditation of the closet, that he was commonly accused of repeating the lectures of Monsieur Dumont.

How is it that the character and the eloquence of a people are in such direct opposition? To say that the orator reads in the French chamber and extemporizes in ours, is not sufficient, since most of the French speak extempore, without any *very apparent* premeditation. Besides if the ex-cathedrâ species of oratory were not in some degree conformable with the genius of the place, it would not occasionally be received and admired there. To account for this, we must remember that—that love for detail, and that passion for generalities, by which the two countries are respectively characterised, are singularly remark-

able in their respective constitutions. In England, the progress of improvement has been slow and piecemeal; we have added on a little here, we have cut off a little there, and we have continued mending, and sometimes, though not frequently, adding, from casual motives of expediency. We have argued upon legislative questions as upon turnpike acts, but, with one exception only, we have never solved the elements of society in order to recompose it. We have never taken abstract views of our form of Government, and attempted to base it on general principles. Even in moments of change, we have adopted the language of Burke, and, considering our constitution "a sacred legacy," rather asserted the justice of restoration than the necessity of improvement.

It rarely happened, therefore, previous to the few last years, that in the questions agitated, there was wherewithal to engross the whole mind and faculties of the statesman, or deeply to excite the attention of the assembly or the public. Doddington's Diary furnishes us with amusing instances of the manner in which an opposition went about looking for a grievance. The subjects ordinarily brought forward derived their importance less from themselves than from the opportunity they afforded to two parties of delivering battle. The excitement was in the strife, and not in its cause. A personal, passionate, amusing way of speaking, therefore, naturally introduced itself, without the charm and colour of which a debate would frequently have resembled uncle Tom's dispute with nephew John, on the difference between a chestnut horse and a horse chestnut.

In France, on the contrary, when the builder in 1789 took the trowel into his hands, the first stone of the building was not laid. The principle on which it was to be deposited and consecrated was the subject of long deliberation. The rights of man were declared, before any attempt to deduce social happiness and political power from them was made. There was enough in the gigantic questions which started every instant into discussion, to fill the mind of the politician, and to arrest the attention of those to whom he was communicating new and important truths. A philosophical treatise was wanted, rather than a spirited harangue; and it was only at the fall of the Girondists, when principles were forgotten and persons were contending— less indeed to obtain the honours of the state than to

escape the revolutionary scaffold—that we find frequent specimens of another eloquence in those beautiful and impassioned bursts—one of which escaped from Madame Roland's unfortunate admirer, who vainly hoped and declared that his voice—"qui plus d'une fois avait porté la terreur dans ce palais d'où elle avait précipité la tyrannie, la porterait aussi dans l'âme des scélérats qui voulaient substituer leur tyrannie à celle de la royauté."

A BALL AT THE TUILERIES.

You drive into the court-yard, get out at one of the great doors. The staircase to the right is broad and straight, with two columns at the top. The suite of rooms you enter are fine. The first, white and plain; the second, surrounded by a kind of balcony, and panelled with the pictures of different maréchals. The third, very large and handsome, and leading to another that contains a velvet canopy and throne; the fifth is the last.

Before you is company—such as it is described—of a mixed kind. "One might fancy oneself in heaven," said a lady near me—"for there, also, there is no distinction of persons."

This is abused and sneered at, very ignorantly and ridiculously, as it seems to me. A gentleman or nobleman has *his* society; but a king is of all societies. He is the head of the nation, and not the head of a clique.

At all events these balls represent France (1) and the epoch, and are interesting on that account.

A MINISTER'S RECEPTION.

Here you are struck, in most cases, by the splendid hotel of the minister, and the manner, simple and plain, of the man. In fact you see two parts of society, the manners of old times and the ideas of new, but ill-joined together.

There is not a courtier but speaks the language of a republican, nor a republican who does not sit on a chair rich with the luxury of Louis XV.

The ministers of one end of the town receive one night, those of the other end another. The same troop rushes from salon to

(1) The most magnificent balls were those of Charles the Tenth—the best regulated and acted, Bonaparte's.

salon—diplomates and deputies, generals and procureurs-généraux.

But the person for whom these soirées are really wanted is—the provincial gentleman, who would honestly imagine that no government existed, if he could not see it, and talk to it, and court it.

The bow and the smile he receives is hailed as "la loi vivante," and he enters the court-yard of the president of the council with the same sacred feeling of security, with which he lays his hand upon the code of the constitution.

A MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITION.

Monsieur —— lives *au troisième* in a small apartment, the salon of which opens, as is frequent in France, to the *chambre à coucher*. Every thing is as decent and simple as possible in the furniture and arrangement of the apartment, and there is an air of respectability about it and the owner, completely English. (1)

"Did you read my article in the National?" "I ought to know, for I was in the last campaign in Spain, and I say that the army is in a state of the most deplorable insubordination." "We have nothing to do with her (the Duchess de Berri); she ought to be taken before the proper tribunals." "Oui, la dissection était très belle"—"of course you have a box for Victor Hugo's new drama"—were the mingled sounds that I once heard, and which proceeding from no common assemblage of journalists, generals, deputies, doctors, lawyers, and men of letters, gave an idea of the manner in which professions in France are intermingled, as well as of the ranks of which the opposition is composed.

BEAUTY OF THE EMPIRE.

The apartment of Madame —— filled with large fauteuils, beautiful porcelaine, bookcases, statues, bronzes, etc. is a model

(1) Monsieur —— is altogether worthy of his reputation; moderate, sagacious, active, eloquent, and liked by all parties, though known to be devoted to his own. On Madame, at once remarkable for her virtue, her wit, and her charms, even a still longer eulogium might be written.

of luxury and good taste. The lady herself, equally celebrated for her manners and her wit, and exercising at one time no inconsiderable influence, retains many of the charms and all the originality for which she was once distinguished. Never was person more quick, more vivacious, more powerful, or more extraordinary in conversation.

She jumps upon a subject, kicks it here, and kicks it there; thumps it about, without respect and in all directions; then she stops breathless, and before you can collect yourself for reply, seizes another subject and treats it in the same manner. Nothing can be compared to her eloquence, her fire, her manner of deciding a question in a phrase, or painting a person by a word. A stranger, however, might be startled to hear her speak of Bonaparte.

"Oh! le petit homme, il était charmant! dents comme des perles, toutes petites, toutes petites—des mains mignonnes—il se parfumait—oh! il était gentil, il était gourmand—le petit homme!"

THE SUCCESSFUL JOURNALIST.

Monsieur de—— first hit upon a method, since become common, of making his fortune by a paper. He announced formally, that a society of good royalists was formed, with a journal—his own journal of course,— for their organ. The society was generous, prizes were to be given for the best essays, the literary youth of France were invited to enter a noble field of competition, and the less lettered gentlemen of wealth were also invited to subscribe funds for this very laudable undertaking.

Such was the project announced during the restoration, and when loyalty was at its height. The prospectus took, contributions flowed in, the society received and answered a very flowery and golden correspondence—and who formed the society? and who wrote the journal? and who received the subscriptions? and who gained the prizes?

Monsieur de—— alone formed the society; Monsieur de—— alone wrote the journal; Monsieur de——alone touched the subscriptions; Monsieur de—— alone gained the prizes.

A GENTLEMAN OF THE OLD REGIME.

The Marquis de——, with powdered hair and a great deal of

very fine linen, was all the fashion in the time of Louis XVI., and saw Mme. Dubarri dine with Louis XV.

"What do you think of society now and society then, Marquis?"

"For society—to those who lived when I did,— there is no society now. How can there be, when here was my young friend (bowing to a young gentleman opposite) who was near cutting my throat just now, because we do not quite agree in political opinions? When I was a young man, Sir, the only thought and occupation was—how shall we most amuse ourselves? All the wit, all the talent, all the energy, which is now working itself out in such a variety of ways, was then concentrated in creating pleasure."—"And luxury. Marquis?"—"How can you talk of luxury?—the only luxurious creature of modern society that I remember, is gone, disappeared altogether. The courtezan is as antedeluvian as the mammoth. In my time she kept her carriages, had her most beautiful and classsically-epicurean apartment, or her delightful *petite maison;* where she gave *soirées*, far more difficult to get to than those of the queen. She studied the art of giving pleasure as a science; every thing about her breathed that *volupté* and that desire to which she devoted herself—and then her conversation was as piquant as her person!"

"But how did she support all this extravagance?"—"Oh! she lived either with a gambler or a grand seigneur."—"I remember your father, Monsieur de —— saying, when he had lost everything—*au moins puis-je garder Julie et un cabriolet!*" "The Prince de Soubise, in my time, kept seven figurantes, who had each their allotted night. He allowed them lovers in the mean time, but they were peremptorily to be of the noblesse. Poor Ségur, I remember, was very much in love with one of them, Mlle. Adèle. 'Oh! Prince,' said some one to him, 'if you knew the pain you give poor Ségur every Tuesday!' '*Mais qu'a-t-il donc?*'—'*Il aime Adele.*'—'*Quels enfans! et pourquoi ne me l'ont-ils pas dit? Elle ne viendra plus jusqu'à ce que cela soit passé—cela passera.*'"

A NOTARY.

Is my English reader a ward in chancery? if so, he has been

more than once in Lincoln's-Inn. What comfortless chambers are those of his most respectable solicitor!

Well, he goes to Paris to a small entresol in a large hotel! He is shown into a little boudoir;—the table is covered with splendid pieces of Sèvres, and the chimney-piece loaded with or-moulu. A book-case surmounted by every variety of Venus, fronts the chimney, and contains the most richly-bound and the most splendid gilt books in the world.

Is he at his lady's?—no; he is at his lawyer's—who will be with him in five minutes in the splendidly-brocaded dressing-gown of the courtier of Louis XV.

A LITERARY LADY.

Climb up two or three pair of stairs—pull the bell at a small door—and enter a little room, simple and in good taste. There is a doctor, a couple of journalists, a poet, a bookseller, and a mathematician! The doctor cures his patients by magnetism; the journalist intends saving his country by a war, a bankruptcy, and the guillotine; the poet writes long romances, which he calls lyrics; the bookseller despises Walter Scott and Lord Byron, but respects the manner in which they are printed. The mathematician is a clever man, and makes love to the lady; and the lady, half poet, half journalist, half physiologist, half author, and half coquette, talks to the doctor about magnetism, to the journalist about guillotining, to the poet about romances, to the bookseller about printing, to the mathematician about love, and to the last visitor about all these.

A PHILOSOPHIC MODIST.

The Demoiselle F..... modist, aged twenty years, living Rue du Faubourg St. Martin, had contracted the bad habit of play. Gay and pretty, she had many adorers, and some had presented money with their heart; but her passion for play was such, that in less than three years she lost 60,000 francs. She then began to sell her furniture; and alas! the more her distress was known, the less pressing her lovers became. At last, too idle to work, and too distressed to live without it, she determined to put an end to her existence, and chose the first day of the year for her project.

But before lighting the charcoal, she wrote the following letter to her mother :—

" My dear Mamma,

" The year just passed has been to me a very unhappy one—I hope that the one now commencing will bring you those consolations you stand in need of. You know, my dear mamma, that for some time past my resources have been daily diminishing. It is painful to live in privation after one has been accustomed to luxury. It is disagreeable to work after one has been free, and accustomed from early youth to follow one's pursuits, and one's pleasures. Then forgive me, my dear mamma, if—having lost all those advantages I ought to have been careful of—I do not now want to sigh over my misfortunes.

" Alas! my pen refuses to obey my will, or I would paint to you all my past tribulations. But death is waiting for me, and I shall be gone before mid-day. So I kiss you, my dear mamma, as I love you, that is to say, with all my soul.

" Your respectful daughter,

" JOSEPHINE ———.

"*Paris, Jan.* 1, 1835."

—*Gazette des Tribunaux.*

A WISE COCHER DE CABRIOLET.

" They want to make me join them, Sir, in their émeutes and nonsense.

" Ma foi," I said to myself, " et qu'est-ce que tu as été, toi, sous l'empire? " — " Cocher de cabriolet. " — " And under Charles X? "—" Cocher de cabriolet." — " And under Louis-Philippe?"— " Cocher de cabriolet ; " — " And if there were a republic, what would you be?"—" Cocher de cabriolet. Alors que la dynastie aille comme elle pourra. Je ne m'en mêlerai point, moi qui ne serai jamais que cocher de cabriolet." (1)

(1) " Faith," I said to myself, " and what have you been—you—under the empire?"—" Cocher de cabriolet."—" And under Charles X?" " Cocher de cabriolet."—" And under Louis-Philippe?"—" Cocher de cabriolet ;"—" And if there was a republic, what would you be?"—" Co-

A MILITARY PORTER.

"I met my porter, yesterday," said a gay officer to me; "my porter, who is an old soldier of the '*vieille garde*,' with my sword in his hand. 'It is as bright now as ever it was,' said he. 'I did not know it had ever been soiled,' said I. 'Alas! yes, Sir; I had some words yesterday with a carabineer; we met in the morning, and this weapon that you see passed through his body.

"'Pauvre garçon! il est tombé là raide mort.'"

TRAITS.

IMPORTANT NEWS.

"My dear Cecile,

"THE FATHER left yesterday the port of Marseilles, in the ship called 'Le Prince Héréditaire.' The captain's name is Vianello. You first announced to me his DEPARTURE from *prison*. I announce to you his DEPARTURE from *the west*.

"THE FATHER has quitted *the west!*.... let this great fact "resound in the ears of all men and of all women!!!—

"etc. etc. etc. etc.

"RODREGUER BARRAULT.

"*24th September, year of the mother.*" (1)

A READING.

This kind of demi-publicity still continues, and keeps the vanity of the author in breath until he has finished his work. If he is writing a tragedy, he will read it scene by scene; if a novel, chapter by chapter. Nobody is invited who is not a good admirer, except on very rare occasions. I remember one of these—a gentleman had written a comedy which he thought too indecent for the stage—and, in order to make up his mind, invited the most modest of his female acquaintance to hear it.

cher de cabriolet. Then let the dynasty go on as it will. I 'il not meddle with it, who will always be—cocher de cabriolet."

(1) Copied verbatim.

A PENSION.

The persons one meets at these places are on an average—a French colonel on half-pay—an English shopkeeper—a couple of journalists—and a respectable old English lady with three daughters.

The English mother does not know French, and has gone to a *pension* in order that her daughter may learn it. The French colonel sits at dinner between the two—and seduces the simpering girl under the mother's unsuspecting apron.

THE ENGLISH AT THE CAFÉ DE PARIS.

I remember being seated at the window of this café near a very decent English family. "Very good chicken! capital wine! it's Volney," says the gentleman, "Volney, you know, my dear, (very loud!) called after the famous traveller." (1)

(1) I would not pass by this subject without one or two words of regret given to my unfortunate countrymen. Go to Calais, Boulogne, any of the British-visiting provincial towns, or even to Paris itself, and see the queer figures who are passing themselves off as models of English elegance. Just look at their pinched-up or broadened-out brimm'd hats, their indescribably cut coats, their whiskers, their mustachios, their swagger, their ignorance, their insolence, and recollect to your horror that the costume, and the ton that would hardly be tolerated in Burlington Arcade or Covent Garden saloon, are very soberly considered by the French people who have never passed the channel as a fair specimen of the tip-top taste and breeding of their outlandish neighbours. Again, pass where you will on the continent, and be sure, if anything very extraordinary, very ridiculous, very impertinent, be done, be sure it is one of your countrymen who has the honour of doing it! If any man live in more scandalous indecency than the habits even of Italy will allow, be sure it is a native of that country which prides itself on its especial prudery and morality. If any body be noted for a greater freedom of language, and a more unconscionable incontinency than another, ten to one but it is a lady of that land which is so proud of the modest purity of its women.

England abroad and England at home, thank Heaven! are in this respect two countries as different as Kamschatka and Otaheite. People of all sexes and all classes seem to take a pride in convincing the world,

DUELS OF THE CHAMBER.

You can buy what are called "les balles de députés." These balls, evaporating in the air, are sure to do no mischief to the senatorial combatants. Was there ever such a criticism on the age? *Men fight for honour* and *cheat it.*

SAYINGS.

CARLISM.

"Cette pauvre princesse (the Duchess of Berri), elle donnait de si jolis bals!" Such is the attachment of one half the Faubourg to the heroine of la Vendée.

LOVE OF NATURE.

A young Frenchman was abusing Italy as nothing extraordinary.—"Ah!" said Madame,—— "you were not there when M. de Laval was minister!"

CONJUGAL VIRTUE.

"La vertu d'une femme mariée, c'est de garder son amant même quand il lui déplaît."

OBEDIENCE.

"Certainly," said a young lady, very seriously, to one then about to be married—"Les femmes doivent obéir dans les petites choses, mais les hommes assurément dans les grandes."

ABSENCE.

"I do not love my husband enough to leave him."

ANCESTRY.

"Je me moque de mes ancêtres; jugez donc, mon cher, ce que je dois faire des vôtres."

that they change their skins with their climate, and that if they conduct themselves with decency and propriety in May Fair and Fleet Street, they can be guilty of every species of indecorum when in sight of the Champs Elysées and the Coliseum.

TYRANNY.

"What a tyranny we live under!" says a gay Carlist.—"And where have you just come from, Sir!"—"Oh! from Prague; 200 of us went to offer our homage to Henry V."—"And is this generally known?"—"Certainly, every body knows it."

"To be sure it is a terrible tyranny you live under."

TIES OF RELATIONSHIP.

An enraged husband was about to slay the lover of his wife—"Arrête, malheureux!" cried the lady; "tu vas tuer le père de tes enfans." (1)

(1) Stop, unhappy man! you are about to kill the father of your children.

PARAGRAPHS THAT SUCCEEDED EACH OTHER IN A NEWSPAPER.

STATISTIQUE—LEGION OF HONOUR.

	1831	1833	difference
Great crosses .	99	106	7
Grand officers	183	195	12
Commanders .	726	825	99
Officers	4,056	4,475	419
Chevaliers . . .	37,828	43,659	5,831

INSTRUCTION PRIMAIRE.

There is in France 1,935,000 children, who receive primary instruction, i. e. 1 in 17—There are 42,000 schools; 11,139 are private. On a thousand children—in the north-east one reckons 863; in the north 553; in the east 484; in the north-west 256; in the south-west 242; in the west 223; in the centre 304; in the south 190.

LES ENFANS DE MARSEILLE.

A report of M. le Maire de Marseille relates to us the grave inconveniences and accidents that result from the pitched battles fought daily between the two parties among THE CHILDREN *in different quarters of the town.*

MODES.

We omitted, by mistake, in our last number, to speak of the dress which the Queen wore at the court ball. WE HASTEN TO repair this error. Not only was Her Majesty's toilette magnificent but elegant. The gown was—WHITE SATIN EMBROIDERED WITH ROSES, etc.

Then follows a list of the Jury for the department of the Seine.

Surely these paragraphs thus running and blended together, give no bad picture of France as it is.—Her impetuous youth, her military honours, her primary instruction, her jury list, and then—*the gown embroidered with roses!!!*

Thus have I sketched, as illustrations to my subject, two or three scenes and portraits, and even noted a few traits and observations. I will now throw together a few facts.

Of books published in 1833, I find

Poetry of different kinds.	275
Modern law, the sciences, natural history, and administrations	552
Romances, Novels, and translations of the same.	555
Histories, narratives, and the like	215
Philosophy, metaphysics	102
Travels and fine arts.	170
Devotion, Theology, etc.	255
Theatrical pieces in verse and prose. . . .	179
Foreign books of different languages . . .	604
Pamphlets, libels, prospectuses, and speeches.	4,546
Total	7,011

What do we see here?—in the first place, an enormous appetite for momentary and frivolous discussion; that one expected;—but by the side of it behold a love for the sciences, for natural history, and the theories of government, which we might have supposed less general amongst so volatile and excitable a people!

Then again, novels, poetry, and the drama, those branches of literature that, judging from the surface of things, we should have deemed most in abundance, furnish less than metaphysics, devotion, history, and the arts.

Novels, etc. including translations . .	555
Poetry	275
Drama	179
	709
Metaphysics	109
Devotion	255
History	215
The arts	170
	720

And now, if we take the theatres! there we find the returns of:
The Opera (dancing and French music,)
The Porte St. Martin, (Mélodrame,)

Vaudeville,
Variétés,
Gymnase,
} little farces,

to be as much as the twelve other theatres of Paris, including the Théâtre Français, the Opera Comique, and the Italian Opera put together.

Turn we to the Institut! who are the candidates?

M. Châteauneuf, (1) an historian.

M. de Salvandy, a very remarkable periodical writer. (2)

And M. Scribe, the well-known and happy farce-writer—on this occasion as on others successful.

In the exposition at the same time, I remark—nor is this unuseful in tracing the habits of a population—

15,000	clocks, average price	250 francs.
40,000	pairs of flambeaux .	20 ,,
5,000	do. candalabres . .	200 ,,
60,000	glass cylinders . .	10 ,,
Lustres and lamps to the value of		1,000,000
Small articles of bronze . .		1,800,000
More costly do		2,000,000

In all this, there is a strange mixture of different and opposing qualities, such as are to be found in a nation not moulded in a day, but which, on the contrary, has passed through a variety of changes, and presents in its molten mass a variegated and heterogeneous composition. We see old tastes by the side of new, and new tastes, which almost seem incompatible with the old!

The everlasting appetite for scandal and science!
The love for the melodrame and the joke!
The struggle between history, metaphysics, and farce!
The luxury of tastes, and the mediocrity of fortunes.

(1) Author of "the History of the great Captains."

(2) The author of "Alonzo," which also had four editions, and of "the History of Poland."

YOUNG FRANCE.

CHAPTER III.

Modern Cataline—Journalist—Dramatist—Suicide—Son of a tallow-chandler—Monsieur Marmote Fathay—Baron de——Royalist—Doctrinaire—Artist—Young Doctors, and Philosophers of the hour.

Let us see! There has been a conspiracy. Who are at the bar? a cabinet-maker, a certain number of shoemakers, a locksmith, a painter, a button-maker, an engraver, a shopkeeper, a doctor, and a lady, whose more peaceful occupation is to sit at the counter of a café. All eyes are of course turned upon the lady and the chief of this terrible band, whose plots have disquieted the dreams of the good citizen King, and exercised the arms of his valorous national guard.

Come forth most renowned Cataline! "Who are you?" "I am the son of a prolétaire, (peasant). I belong to that class which the rich repudiate and misunderstand. My temper is irritable and nervous,—chafing at little obstacles—calm before a battalion with fixed bayonets. I do not know so much as I should wish to know, for education is not gratuitous in France.

"You ask me my life.—A boy, enlisting as volunteer, I fought under Napoleon's eagles. The restoration came, I returned to my father's cottage, and shared the rude labours of the old man. From that cottage, the Revolution of July called me. The charter was violated. I wished for a republic. Wounded on the 28th, I leaped into the Louvre on the 29th.—In the Tuileries a sabre-cut maimed this hand. In the rue de Rohan, a ball entered this shoulder. As I behaved in July, so I behaved in June."

President. "You are accused at that time of homicide with premeditation."

Republican. "I know it."

President. "You ran about the streets, shouting 'To arms!'"

Republican. "Yes."

President. "Did you distribute cartouches?"

Republican. "When they were wanted."

President. "Did you not fire upon a battalion of the line?"

Republican. "I traversed with ten comrades the whole of the first line. Eight fell, and I retired by the street."

Such are the answers of a slight young man, with hollow cheeks, penetrating eyes, and black moustaches.

He had fought for a republic. What did he want? A government without appointments, without taxes. Things, he thought, would go well, if left to themselves. (1)

Here is one of your "Young France," a type of that reckless and imaginative youth, ever ready to rush on the cannon.

Born of poor parents, with but little education, of daring character, impracticable ideas and good intentions;—consumed by unemployed energies and dissatisfied ambition.

Requiring action from his temperament;—the very soul of a state at war;—a canker to its repose in peace.

Let us turn to another class and another type!

"It happened to me," says M. Janin, "as it has happened to all men of letters, present and past—I entered a literary career without knowing it, and without wishing it. I was a writer in ignorance that I did write—by necessity, as every body is."

"Oh! I remember my mother, her cottage by the Rhône side, and the diligence which carried me to Paris, on a speculation; for my father, and my uncles, and all my family, thought me a real prodigy, and so did the ladies of my village, to whom I wrote verses, and who said that all I wanted was,—a little education.

"Thus was I sent to the '*famous*' college—(for my friends were determined that every chance should be in my favour)—to the '*famous*' college — which had gained the prize that year, and which I and my friends considered it a matter of course that I should gain the year following.

"I passed three years at that college, did not gain the prize,

(1) See National, 30th October, 1832.

and learned little for my pains;—that is to say, I learned neither mathematics, nor languages, nor history, nor indeed any kind of literary lore; but I learned something, I confess, of the world's lore;—for I learned how one makes friends, and how one keeps them, and also with how little science, and how little merit, and how little industry, one may get on in life.

"This, after all, was no despicable kind of knowledge. My comrades had friends, and prospects dependent on friends. What alas! has become of most of them? (1)

"I had no expectations, no friends, beyond the walls of that memory-haunted place—no friends, save an old grand-aunt, eighty years old, who, hobbling along, the dear old creature! by the aid of her hooked stick, came, at last, to take me to her garret, *au quatrième*, to which she had brought all our old country furniture,—the chairs, the table, and the little sofa and bed, the very same I knew so well;—and there we lived four happy years of my life:—Oh! what four happy years those were! How many passions given to the wind! how much useless poesy! what sighs wafted to the clouds! what labour too, to gain my little livelihood as I could! (2)

"Those years passed by me like a day. I desired nothing, I feared nothing, I envied nothing. Living with my friends, having now and then with them a joyous and savoury repast,

(1) "Some bandied on the sea, slain in battle; some fell in Greece, taken by surprise; many have fallen in the Bois de Boulogne, by a sword's stab in a corner behind a tree; others again have lost their memory;—and then, what a host have perished by different modes of suicide—the vaudeville, the song, the epic, the hazard-table, and love.

"I saw them on the threshold of our college, I saw them quit it so beautiful! so laughing! so gay! so full of youthful folly.

"Let us pray for them!"

(2) "In the first place, I gave lessons, at so much a lesson; I taught thousand things I knew little about; for instance, Latin, Greek, History, Geography, and Heaven knows what besides; I'd have taught Hebrew or Syriac, if I had been asked; any thing but mathematics. Mathematics one cannot teach without knowing them, and this is why have ever had a great respect for mathematics.

"I made my scholars understand little from my lessons; but they taught somebody—they taught myself."

happy in the happiness of my old aunt, and sticking up against the wall, when I could buy them, great red and blue daubs, which I thought very beautiful, and which were called Greeks then, as they would be called Poles now.

"That was life!! and what heroines! with what names! Alexandrina, Rose, Lili,—German, Spanish, French,—great lady, or little grisette—all suited us.

"Thus I and those like me lived from day to day, trusting to chance; with little effort, no variety, and but slight privations.

"But I meant to speak of my entry into literature, how was it? Many volumes could be written on a literary life in France! I mean merely to write of my own. It is short, *but it will give a pretty good idea of the literary life of my epoch.*

"One evening, I remember it well, I was walking backwards and forwards before that theatre, which I then thought the perfection of the dramatic art, 'l'Opéra Comique,' revolving in my mind, with no small degree of agitation, whether I would or would not give the 44 sous, that the Opéra Comique at that time exacted at its portal.

"At this critical moment, whom should I see but a young man, whose acquaintance I had made in the Luxembourg, by my dog making the acquaintance of his dog, and who had then under his arm, the arm of an elegant and beautiful lady. What were my feelings when he proposed to me a place in his box, a place by the side of that elegant and beautiful lady, who was no less,—my heart thrilled, than a singer at the opera!

"My friend was a journalist—his happiness decided my profession: I became a journalist too; and a journalist I shall die, because I was walking one beautiful summer's evening before the door of the Opéra Comique. (1)

(1) "Not that I complain, in saying this, of a literary life. I am far from being so ungrateful towards the noblest career in this age of liberty. A literary life in France has, at all times, been a life apart and amidst the grandeurs of the world; it is better than that now; it is a life apart amidst the powers of the world.

"The man of letters is what the Grand Seigneur was. They have both taken their place in our institutions—they are both citizens, but citizens out

" It is but the first step that makes us fear—in a balloon, on a railroad, as the editor of a paper;—there you are seated comfortably and calm; and there is the crowd below you, trembling and affrighted—*voilà tout!*

" Our age is the age of free thought, of independence— our age is the age of the press—the golden age for the periodical writer. Happy then, and proud am I to belong to that press, to be a periodical writer.

"When I commenced, what existed in France had an immense appearance. It appeared a universe to a gay journalist of twenty. Well, it is all gone—all—vanished—gone, Heaven knows where—gone, and devoured by the journal, that power so frail and dwarfish when I commenced my career, exposed as it was to the arbitrary will of a censor, who would cut you off a thought as an executioner does a head.

" By what ruins am I surrounded! What a gulph between the time when I first mended my pen to write, and now when I take it up to trace the recollection of things gone by!

At first, I was a writer unknown, a writer of the opposition by epigram—harrassing and attacking the ministers, of whom I knew little, and who knew less of me. Later, I rose from the

of the crowd, in spite of the crowd—citizens apart—citizen aristocrats, to say the truth, by passion, by sentiment, by thought, and by reputation.

" The man of letters of to-day has, with his pen, an existence assured and gained quite as much as has the advocate, or the notary.

" The constitution could not exist without debates and discussions of all kinds, for and against!

"The journal to-day is more than a want, it is a duty. It is a necessity of every morning, of every evening, of every hour. The journal is the reproduction of a whole life, public, literary, philosophic, taking all the shades of society, from the first to the last. This power guides at will, and violently, every one and every thing: power inexorable, devouring itself when it has nought else to feed upon! Do you know how many writers, active, passionate, and devoted, it requires to suffice for all it exigencies, and all its wants, and all its life?

" Do you know into what a gulph without bottom are thrown at every instant such a multitude of passions, of ideas, of paradoxes, of follies, of every thing which is engendered by the heart, soul, passion, vices, and virtues of mankind?"

little newspaper to the great newspaper—from the popular journal to the aristocratic journal, always the same man, in spite of what people have thought proper to say, always of the opposition, now here and now there.

"They who reproach me with having passed from one paper to another, cannot reproach me with having changed from one opinion to another; always attacking whatever I thought strong; the enemy of the powerful; never guided in my hostilities by my interest, and ever quitting that side which became the victorious one. This is why I left my little liberal journal of the opposition when it triumphed under M. Martignac; this is why I left my great royalist journal of opposition the day that M. Polignac came into power.

"Opposition has been my life, as to others is the support of power." (1)

"Such is the most popular journalist's description of his life and opinions.

And now we will pass from the journalist to the dramatist—to the criticised from the critic;—and here again we find a gentleman his own biographer.

"I was not twenty years old when my mother one morning entered my room, came to my bedside, kissed me weeping, and said—

"'Mon ami, je viens de vendre tout ce que nous avions pour payer nos dettes.' (2)

"'Eh bien! ma mère?' (3)

"'Eh bien! my poor child, our debts paid, there remains to us 255 francs—'

"'A year?'

"'My mother smiled bitterly—

"'In all?' said I.

"'In all.'

"'Well, my mother, I will take the fifty-three francs and start this evening for Paris.'

"'And what will you do there, mon pauvre ami?'

(1) This writer seems to consider that to be always in the opposition is always to be consistent, and that it matters not what you oppose.

(2) "My child, I have just sold everything we had to pay our debts."

(3) "Well, my mother."

"'I 'll see the friends of my father, the Duc de Bellune, Sébastiani, Jourdan.'

"'Do as you will,' said my mother, kissing me once more—'perhaps it 's the inspiration of God'—and she went out.

"My first visit was to Marshal Jourdan; he had some vague recollection of my father, it is true; but never heard that he had a son. I left him in ten minutes, very imperfectly convinced of my existence.

"I next went to General Sébastiani.

"The General was in his 'cabinet de travail;' four or five secretaries were writing under his dictation, each of whom had upon his bureau, besides his pen, his paper, and his pen-knife, a gold snuff-box, which he presented to the general whenever he stopped before him in those perambulations which, like the *malade imaginaire*, he conducted across his chamber now in one direction, now in the other.

"My visit was short; whatever might be my consideration for the general, I had no wish to become his snuff-box bearer.

"'The day after, I presented myself at General Foy's—

"I was introduced into his library; he was then occupied with his History of the Peninsular War. At the moment I entered, he was writing on one of those tables which lift up and down at pleasure; scattered around him were speeches, maps, and half-open volumes.

"Turning round with his accustomed vivacity, on hearing the door of his sanctuary open, he fixed his penetrating eyes on me—I trembled.

"'Monsieur * * * * * *?' said he, 'are you son of the General who commanded the army of the Alps?'

"'Yes, general.'

"'*C'était un brave.* What can we make of you?'

"'Any thing you like, General.'

"The next day I returned to the hotel of the General, he was my sole hope.

"'Eh bien,' said he; 'your business is settled. You are supernumerary clerk, with an appointment of 1,200 francs per annum,(1) in the office of the Duke of Orleans!"

(1) About *50l.*

This is the opening scene in the theatrical life of one of the first writers of the French stage. (1) But there are other pretenders less fortunate.

"A few days ago," says a late journal, "a body was dragged from the Seine, near Pont St. Nicholas, the dead body of a young man aged twenty years. It was the body of a young poet, by name—Jules Mercier. In his pocket was found an elegy entitled, '*A Emma*,' and bearing the date of April last.

"At the bottom of the elegy was the following note—'This piece ought to have been part of a collection that my editor should publish immediately.'

"It is now about a month," continues the journal, "since a young man presented himself at our bureau, and asked to speak to the editor of our paper. The editor was absent, and one of our contributors received him.

"He was a young man, about twenty years old, with a countenance pale, interesting, and betraying suffering. This young man was—Jules Mercier.

"He offered with a timid air a little roll of paper; the roll contained some verses, entitled, 'To Lelia!' These verses we could not receive, having already, a few days before, inserted some on the same subject, and bearing the same title. A week after, the young man returned, bringing another set of verses, which he begged us to admit, though the space they would occupy was considerable.

"This piece was called 'The Gulph.' We promised that it should be examined.

"The young poet seemed well satisfied, and promised to come the next day and receive our observations.

"We expected him the next day—he did not come. We are never to see him more."

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

But what dark and cadaverous gentleman is yonder, with a slight moustache, pointed beard and tuft, and long hair, struck up in the middle and combed down on each side, so as to hang upon his shoulders?

That gothic chevalier is the son of a tallow-chandler, corner

(1) M. Alexandre Dumas.

of rue St. Denis. He does not think that the reign of chivalry is gone. No! but that he, the son of the tallow-chandler, has become the chevalier.

Thus, here and there, the prestige of an aristocracy remains but then every one thinks he may be an aristocrat.

Just listen!—

Monsieur Marmote Fathay, the respectable son of a respectable bookseller, publishes some poems. "Fathay," pronounced "Fatty," is a most unpoetical name, and the poems have little success. What happens?

Behold, in a new edition, "Fathay," odious appellation! has disappeared, "de" is before the "Marmote," and "Alphonse" before the "de," and read instead of "Poems by Marmote Fathay,"—

"Poems by Alphonse de Marmote." Alphonse de Marmote! Who would dream that a name so aristocratic and so sonorous should have been formuled (I use the French expression) from plain Marmote Fathay, the plebeian signature of a good-natured young bookseller.

But so it is, and half the world who doubt in christianity believe firmly in the nominal identity of—

"Alphonse de Marmote!"

Nor is this a singular transmogrification!

I was sitting the other day at the Café de Paris; a tilbury with red wheels drove up to it, and a gentleman, with a Brobdignagian beard, and whiskers to match, descended therefrom.

His hat, of singular shape, was nicely balanced on one side of his head, displaying an immense *chevelure* on the other. His coat, built about the skirts in the stern fashion of a Dutch frigate, was *bleu de ciel.* (1) His waistcoat, as variegatedly dazzling as a well-shaken kaleidoscope, opened in the middle to display a green satin neckcloth, be-pinned and be-chained from the top to the bottom like a lady's stomacher. This individual was nearly six feet high, and, having taken a careful survey of his undusted boots, entered the café, humming a tune, and pulling about his curls, and brandishing his cane, and making as much as possible of all that appertained to his large and magnificently

(1) Sky blue.

apparelled person,—"*Eh! bon jour, Baron!*" said a creature, to all seeming of the same genus, who was standing at the entrance of the small room to the right picking his teeth. "Do you know who that is?" said the friend I was dining with. We were sitting at one of that line of tables to the left, and nearly opposite the door which the Baron had entered.

"Not I indeed," said I.

"Well, I 'll tell you more about him than he thinks. I dare say, that any body here is acquainted with.

"A lady,—do not ask about her virtue! first pointed out to me yonder hero. It was at the Variétes,—we were in a little dark box, and could not be seen; he was, as you may suppose, in the most conspicuous part of the theatre.

"'Voilà un homme,' cried the lady, 'qui me doit beaucoup, —beaucoup,—beaucoup.'(1)

"Now, as I suspected my friend of being rather more addicted to borrowing than to lending, I uttered with great naïveté a rather surprized '*Comment?*'(2)

"'*Oui, oui,*' said she.

"'That young gentleman was the son of a French washerwoman, who said his father was an English general. For many years the old man had the malice to doubt this very creditable fact, and for many years, in consequence, *mon ami, que voilà!*(3) ran about in very ragged *déshabille*, carrying, not unfrequently, a well-filled basket, now of clean and now of dirty clothes, from and to the maternal garret.

"'The aptitude however which a death-bed creates, to believe in miracles, convinced the old gentleman, when he was about to die, that he might have, could have, and must have, begotten the unfortunate and long forgotten Albert.

"'A will in consequence was made, a fortune bequeathed, a soul, perhaps, saved, and a dirty lad who went to bed with five *sous* in his pocket awoke the heir to 100,000 fr. per annum, inscribed *sur le grand livre.*

"'Albert was then 19 years old. His mother washed for me!

"'Take my advice,' said I to the mother; 'return this very

(1) See there, a man who owes me a great deal—a great deal.

(2) How is that?

(3) My friend, whom you all see.

night all your customers'dirty linen, and start you by to-morrow's diligence off to your province. As to your son, I will make a gentleman of him.' The old lady listened to my counsels, which I actually advanced 500 francs in support of; and Monsieur Albert was told that two little rooms in my apartment were at his service. Well, I kept him quiet, and had him taught to read and write,—he never made a very good scholar;—and to ride and to walk;—Oh! mon Dieu, what pains I had with his elbows; and to put on his hat, and to swing his stick,—you see he is always swinging his stick! and then what drives we had in the Bois de Boulogne before I could make him sit decently in a cabriolet, or hold the reins like a christian.

"'At last Albert only wanted four months of coming of age. 'Go and travel,' I said: 'that is, go to my aunt in the country, (I have got on old aunt in Auvergne,) and wait there till I write to you.

"'Well, I took a large apartment for him on the Boulevards, and had it magnificently furnished, with a little boudoir *en gothique*. I had then all his table-cloths, and all his knives and forks, and all his porcelain, and all his pocket-handkerchiefs, handsomely worked with a coronet, and the day before his arrival came a large packet from the country—to the *Baron* ***.

"'Would you believe it? for the first week of his arrival I sent him,—in different handwriting too—some by the twopenny post, some by the general post, some by a page, some by a groom, and some by a commissionnaire—five hundred and sixty-two letters, all properly addressed, 'To the Baron ***.'

"'From that week he was 'Baron' to all the world. His servants said, 'Monsieur le Baron,' I said, 'Monsieur le Baron,' his new acquaintances said, 'Monsieur le Baron,' and he himself signed himself 'Le Baron de' with all the natural dignity of a hero whose history was incorporated with the crusades.'

"The young gentleman who walked into the café just now," continued my friend, "is the identical Baron, who owes so much to the good lady to whom I owe his history."

This is a fact!

But some titles are more ancient, and accompanied with greater worth.

The young M. de —, who was lately compromised in the affair

of La Vendée, is a liberal royalist of the school of Chateaubriand and Martignac, and one of the most distinguished among the young nobility.

Never seen at the Tuileries during the prosperity of Charles X, immediately on arriving from Algiers, he hurried to Lulworth, and disdaining, as he says, to control a sentiment which he thinks chivalrous and noble, by prudential calculations, he has ever since been ready for any enterprise, however desperate, which the misguided family in exile have felt inclined to sanction. He will neither permit himself nor any one else to reason with him on this subject. "If the mob had been reasonable," he says, "they would never have ventured with an army of hackney coaches to overthrow the ancient dynasty at Rambouillet."

One observes in this young man, more strongly than in any instance I ever saw, how much depends on circumstances: the benumbing soporific effects of prosperity, and the advantages which, in the development of intellect and character, adversity has the merit to bestow.

Five years ago —— was a French dandy—occupied with little but his horses, his tilbury, his neckcloths, his waistcoats, and pantaloons. Hurrying from amusement to amusement;—the only thought that ever came across him at times—was that he was bored. With an easy income, and one of the most illustrious names in France (at that time a fortune), handsome, graceful, and just married to a wife in every way accomplished, he had all that could be desired; and yet, despite of this, there is no comparison in the measure of respect which he received from those who knew him then, and that which is paid him by those who know him now.

The life he leads, and has led since the revolution of 1830, is curious, as a specimen of that pursued by many of his class. For the last two years he has spent eight months of each year in a lonely château in the country, with his thoughts and books. He has dismissed even the appearances of pleasure—horses, equipage, etc. In Paris he goes no where but to the club: at home, he never receives visitors, and is only to be found by one or two friends, whom he invites to a dinner which is nowise changed on their account. If he has any society, it is that of artists and men of letters, who, as he feels by a certain instinct, throw a dignity and poesy about his position. Such, too, is in general the

society of that set of royalists to which he belongs—partly because the head of their party (M. de Chateaubriand) inspires a respect for his distinction—and partly because there is in their own feelings and politics, and hazardous situation, a something noble, imaginative, and dangerous, which seeks for thoughts and sympathies higher than those of the ordinary kind.

But hostile as are the ardent and high-spirited youth of the Faubourg St. Germain to the Prince chosen by the nation—there are few amongst them who attach any divine right to the principle of hereditary succession. They consider it simply as a link between the past and the present; as a guarantee of stability and durability, as a decoration and illustration to the throne, but not as the sole foundation on which a monarchy can be founded.

As the party of Henry V. has some few rational adherents amongst the young nobility, so the party of Louis-Philippe enlists from the higher *bourgeoisie*, and the gentry, a certain number of young men of serious habits and very extensive information.

These, as a class, however, belong rather to the Young France of the old régime which they opposed, than to the Young France of the new régime, which has embraced them. They were the young men who wrote in the Globe, and frequented the salon of the Duc de Broglie; a cold, enlightened, reasonable, pale-faced set of young men, who dream of liberty in a quaker's uniform, and have a code of politics as prim as their persons.

Born to be the partisans of the juste-milieu, they support conscientiously and with intelligence the government of Louis-Philippe, and only commit the error of mis-judging the character and the temperament of the French. They will always be respected; they can never be beloved; and in a career which will be honourable, they must resign the hope of being popular, among their fellow countrymen.

I know, many of my friends in France! that you blame the juste-milieu; you detest, you abhor the juste-milieu; there is much to say against it, I accord to you. But, good heavens! to what is not one driven as an anchor from the restless nonsense which I have heard promulgated with the frantic air of philosophy, by some of those who are for launching the state vessel, rudderless, and compassless—and ballastless—on the immense ocean that lies immeasurable before you?

Monsieur D***, a young artist, a hero of July, and decorated with the blue ribbon, called on me the other morning. He hates the government—why?—"It is not noble and pure." He wishes for another—but what? "That is not his business; all he undertakes is, to destroy." Then a constituent assembly is to be called together; a constituent assembly nominated by the poorer classes, *because the poorer classes are the most intelligent.*

"Well," said I, "what would you first abolish?"

"Oh! les charges surtout! Les honnêtes hommes feront les affaires pour rien. Il ne faut point de droits, ni d'impôts, ni de police. Le peuple est conservateur; on l'a vu à Paris et à Lyon. C'est inutile de prendre des précautions contre le bon peuple." (1)

"And what is your especial grievance now?"

"Some people have not enough, and some have a superfluity—and this must be remedied."

"How?"

"Oh! that is not my affair. Les pères de famille arrangeront tout cela. D'ailleurs l'éducation doit être gratuite." (2)

"But you say the people are already so well educated! Besides, if you educate the people, somebody will pay; if they (the people) do not,—the state must; but if the state pays, there must be taxes, and then, where 's your theory?"

"C'est égal!—Je rêve de belles choses; nous les verrons. Il faut chasser cette canaille; tous les gens d'énergie pensent comme moi. Il y a des associations!" (3)

"What is the aim of your associations?"

"To associate—to know our number."

"But have you no especial idea attached to these societies?"

(1) Appointments above every thing. Honest men will manage the public affairs for nothing. We must have neither excise, nor taxes, nor police. The people is conservative; we saw this at Paris and Lyons. It is useless to take precautions against the people.

(2) The fathers of families will arrange all that. Besides, education should be gratuitous.

(3) Never mind. I dream beautiful things. We shall see them yet. But, first, let us rout these rascals. Every body with energy thinks as I do. There are associations.

"Yes; que le monde soit plus heureux." (1)

And many young men in France are like M. D***, and talk of great things and sublime things—vast pyramidal speculations—enormous at the base, imperceptible at the conclusion.

There they go, promising you a new future, a new political deluge, and a new political creation; the Noahs of their time, and carrying about the ark of salvation from the Boulevards to the Palais Royal, from the Vaudeville to the Variétés—sauntering at a café—ogling a grisette—flourishing a switch—humming an opera, telling you you are a brute if you do not admire the extravagances of Victor Hugo, or a rogue if you do not confess that M. —— should be first Consul of the Republic.

Reader, if I wished to give you an idea of this section of "Young France," I could do so exactly. Look at Mlle. Déjazet, (2) in the uniform of Napoleon!!!

There is, however, a darker and more serious group in this otherwise unimposing picture.

I have spoken of the brave and ignorant republican, of the clever and careless man of letters, of the adventurous and successful poet, of the sensitive and enthusiastic suicide, of the vain and would-be-fashionable sonnetteer, of the expensive and nameless noble, of the chivalric and rational royalist, of the calm and sensible ministerialist, of the wild and vague, and imaginative and well-meaning artist; every character I have sketched is a mirror of many more. But lo! with arms folded and lips compressed, a more thick-browed and deep-thinking youth!

Here is the band which, from a good education and an ardent temperament, build up—with much learning and labour—impossible theories.

Strange to say, even in that science which has taught us to look with intelligence into the heaven above our heads, which has led us from consequence to consequence through the mysterious system of a thousand worlds—even in this exact and sublime science, there is (on account, perchance, of its very sublimity, and exactitude,) but a deceitful guide, when we would thread the labyrinth of human philosophy, or navigate the storms of political life.

(1) That the world may be more happy.

(2) A very clever impudent-looking little actress.

Strange to say, much that we blame, as vague speculation, has been derived from logical and dogmatical conclusion. Much that we have considered as the wild ravings of a distempered imagination has resulted from the desire to introduce a precise and mathematical absolutism into thought and action. Hence, of late years, in France, the singular, and to many unaccountable spectacle, of the greatest theorists among men least addicted to visionary pursuits.

Go into yonder salon, where you meet the young doctors and philosophers of the hour!

This legist carries the principle of equality so far, that he believes there is no difference in intellect; that philosopher imagines the superiority of one individual over another so divine, that he would have set no limits to Bonaparte's despotism. Here is the christian geologist, who has just composed a new Genesis! There is the practical experimentalist, who has just performed a new miracle! The philosopher proves we shall have tails,(1) and the moralist counsels prostitution. There is a mixture of sense and nonsense, of virtue and vice, of learning and want of sound wisdom, about this race, which sometimes astonishes a foreigner, and sometimes amuses.

True, they are free from what the man of books or the man of solitude would call "ignorance." They have learned most that study teaches, or meditation inspires. But there is a knowledge of human kind and of human affairs, which the practical mingling with the one in its variety of climes and races, and the practical handling of the other, except in rare and almost miraculous instances, can alone give.

It is this knowledge which sets us on the right side of that almost invisible line which separates the possible from the impossible; the ingenious theory from the profound reality; the lofty speculation on what will never happen, from the sober and derivative divination of what is about to come to pass. It is this knowledge which elevates the sophist into the philosopher, the speculator into the statesman: it is this knowledge which alone decyphers the mysterious scroll on which Providence writes—THE NECESSITY OF THINGS.

When Pythagoras and Plato conceived the idea of preaching

(1) See "New Philosophies."

a philosophy to their countrymen, they considered it a necessary part of their undertaking to visit Egypt and the Indies, and to acquaint themselves with the countries, and with the history, and the civilization, of the countries which surrounded them. Not so the more positive and impatient founders of systems in Paris!

They live in a "set," they talk in a "set," they think in a "set," and their thoughts are thus frequently most bounded, when they conceive they are most enlarged, and their language next to unintelligible, when they deem that they have arrived at the ne plus ultra of perspicuous expression. They believe those ideas to be most general, which they hear most frequently repeated, and those terms to be most explicit, which they have invented as mere pass-words among themselves.

As for other countries, they never take them into account.

The wants of the present epoch, and the philosophy of the present epoch—always supposing that these are to affect humanity in general—are never considered but as the wants of the present epoch, and the philosophy of the present epoch in France.

Christianity is to disappear, and a system of universal association to take place, because there are in France symptoms unfavourable to the one, and favourable to the other. The mind of England, the mind of America, the mind of Germany, at least as influential over the world's doctrines as that of our enlightened but somewhat variable neighbours, are considered as natural effervescences from the solid spirit of a French imagination.

I do not say this in despite, nor am I inclined to throw even a momentary ridicule upon the powerful workings of generous and ingenuous persons, whom I believe to be actuated by the noblest desire, viz. that of elevating and improving mankind.

But the mischief of jejune creeds is their ever-accompanying intolerance; and when I see young men, who have thought much, but who have beheld little, altogether ignorant of other lands, having but a partial knowledge of their own, necessarily unacquainted with the practice of government, not easily delivered of even their own visions of philosophy, set up unhesitatingly some newly-invented standard for every man's honesty

and intelligence, and deem without scruple that all who do not submit to it are rogues or fools, or despots, or aristocrats, I own that I do feel a strong desire to speak, not against the preaching of great changes in society and religion, if the necessity for these changes should force themselves after long and deep meditation upon our sober consciences; but against the adopting hastily, and preaching intemperately, such strange and startling doctrines as those which it is impossible for the philosophers of the medical and polytechnic school to have imbibed, except on very superficial reasonings, and very brief observation.

"Stand upon the ancient roads," says Bacon, "and see which is the good and the right one, and walk on in that."

Antiquity deserveth so much reverence as that we should rest thereupon, and first discover which is the best way; *then*—when the discovery is well made, we may take progression.

But if a man will begin with certainties, he will end with doubts; whereas, if he be content to begin with doubts, he will end with certainties.

SOCIAL STATE.

CHAPTER IV.

Describes different classes of French society—The middle class is different in France from the middle class elsewhere, and more embued with the spirit of other classes—Still the character of the shopkeepers on the whole prevails—Chamber, Jury, National Guard, etc. in the hands of this class.

I WILL now divide what remains for me to say on this subject into a view of the different classes of French society.

THE MIDDLE CLASS.

The middle class in France holds a particular position, and is

different from any body that we should call by the same name in any other country.

In England the middle class is entirely composed of persons engaged in trade, the lower branches of commerce, farmers, attorneys, and persons retired from business, and living on the small capital they may have acquired in it. Their respectability is great, their views and feelings sensible and moderate, but their influence has been much exaggerated; it is crushed between the great fortunes of the aristocracy on the one hand, and the extensive elective franchise of the working classes on the other.

In America there is no especial middle class; all the nation is composed of *our* middle class. This class were its original founders, and have been its constant settlers.

In France there is a middle class, not like the nation in America, not like the middle class in this country, but a middle class composed of the ruins of an old, and the elements of a new, state of society. We see there, as in those strata of the earth, where we find the mingled fossils of animals, and of fish, and of herbs, some antediluvian, the traces of a mighty shock, which threw into unexpected companionship things once heterogeneous, and buried the witnesses of a former world in the womb of the present one. Not only did the revolution of 89 break down the fortunes which separate ranks—it broke down the habits. During that terrible reign, in which a noble name was a title of proscription, the lower classes lost all deference for the upper, and the upper all contempt for the lower.

The feelings which, on either side, had kept the two portions of society apart, disappeared; and as the victories of the consulate succeeded, elevating the peasant to the command of provinces and armies, and carrying a successful soldier of fortune to the topmost pinnacle of power, even that halo which sheds itself upon the aristocratic mansion and the princely palace descended upon the cottage. High place and great consideration obtained by a quality—which, for the very reason, perhaps, that it is the most common among men, is the most commonly respected,—high place and great consideration—the consequence of successful valour—created a nobility without ancestors, and which had frequently its relations among the humbler orders of the people.

Here the daughter of an illustrious race, brought up by a mo-

ther almost starving, with no fortune and little education, was too happy to espouse the son of a grocer, whose bill it would have been difficult to pay. Here, too, the son of a grocer, risen into a distinguished general, emulated the equipage, lived in the society, and perhaps married into one of the families, of that courtly set who enchanted the modern master with the ancient recollections of Versailles. All men had been every thing, and connected with every body during those few eventful years, which only form half the life of this generation, but which will be the history of a republic and an empire—to posterity. The middle class in France then—I mean that class, who have a moderate or what we should call a small fortune, and move in an ordinary sphere of life—cannot be said to have altogether one particular set of habits, or one particular set of recollections, or one particular set of desires.

The seigneur has *fallen* into this class, the servant has *risen* into it, and these changes have taken place, and this amalgamation has been brought about, not by the steady hand of Time, that great but slow revolutionist, but by the running blow of Fortune, which, altering the position of men, still leaves their manners and their memories.

Thus, though the middle class in France may to a certain degree represent what may be called the shopkeepers, still it does not wholly represent them;—while the shopkeepers themselves are not, if I may thus express myself, so completely shopkeepers as in other countries. They are more connected and more in the habit of mixing with other persons and other classes. They have less of frugality and caution, and more of elegance and luxury in their tastes and pursuits. They live in intimate companionship with the artist, the litterateur, the soldier; and feel no sort of barrier, either between themselves and those who have not yet risen into their sphere, or between themselves and those whose fortunes are superior to theirs.

It is because they are not so much a body apart in France as in other countries, that they better fill the station that is assigned to them in the French nation. They have not, to the same extent, those feelings of "caste" which belong to the middling order in governments where ranks have been less mingled, and history is less violent and confused. They do not feel so alien to the lower classes, nor so distinct from the higher.

Still, the man who has sunk from opulence to mediocrity, or

the man who is rising from indigence to wealth, is equally partial to order and tranquillity: and here the middle class in France, though composed so differently from that elsewhere, is moved by the same impulse. Containing the soldier, it is averse to war, and springing in part from the lower ranks of the people, it is averse to revolution. Besides, though the middle class in France is not exclusively a class of shopkeepers, though the shopkeepers in France are different in many respects from those in countries where they form a rank, as it were, of their own,—yet it is the shopkeepers who compose the most bulky and important part of this class, nor are they wholly without the feelings and disposition natural to their calling. The government of the middle class, then, is sometimes called "the government of the shopkeepers," and represents sufficient of its characteristics, when we oppose it to what might be called "the government of the army," or "the government of the aristocracy," or "the government of the working classes," to justify such a description.

I say "the government of the middle class,"—for it is the object of the present constitution in France to give this class (though within a very limited sphere) the legal and representative power of the state. The chamber of deputies, the municipal councils, the juries, are all the representatives of this body —voting the public money, regulating the provincial administration, wielding the judicial power, and thus maintaining in the will of the government that unity, which a centralized administration gives to its force.

"The law takes a fair estimate of the different influences and opinions, which in our state of society are the most proper to advance the cause of civilization and the interests of the country. Is it necessary to say that these opinions and these influences are the opinions and the influences of the middle classes, whose accession to power is the greatest and most prolific result of our fifty years of revolution?

"And when people, in a spirit more philosophic than politic, reproach us for not establishing between all the opinions and all the influences a perfect equilibrium—when, in the name of the people who take no part in the dispute, these persons complain that the law gives to what they call the shopkeepers a decided preponderance, they only, in my idea,

declare that the electoral law, as it exists, is good, just according to the principles of the revolution, and adapted to the wants of society.

"To whom indeed ought power to be given, if not to that *bourgeoisie* of whom we speak?—To the aristocracy? I am far from undervaluing the services that those classes have rendered in former times, or to deny the kind of historical pomp which still surrounds them. *But the blindest must see that the time for an aristocracy is gone by.*

"To the classes the most numerous and the poorest?

"I know not, for my own part, if these classes will ever arrive at such a degree of intelligence, of civilization, and of leisure, as will give them the power of governing instead of being governed; but this I know, that at the present time they are not arrived at this state of capacity; that at all events we must govern, not by them, but for them.

"To the middle classes, then, to the middle classes alone, belongs the government of France!"

Such is the language of M. Duvergier d'Hauranne, one of the most distinguished among the young deputies of the juste-milieu.

THE ARISTOCRACY.

CHAPTER V.

Aristocracy still found in the drawing-room—Driven from the forum—Origin of government of the middle class—Bonaparte's two aristocracies—Destruction of majorats—Impossibility of hereditary peerage in France—Law respecting present peerage and fault of ——.

"An aristocracy in France," says M. Duvergier, "is gone by."

Let us go to Paris with this idea! Who is at the head of society there? The king? The court? That handsome and well-favoured prince whose apartments are so tastefully adorned in the Pavillon Marsan?

To the king, and his court—to the prince who is to be king

and to have a court—behold! yonder salons of the elect are barred, banned.

To whom does the banker bow so low? To the lady in favour at the illuminated Tuileries—or the dame who receives in a dark hotel in the Rue St. Dominique?

You tell me, Monsieur Duvergier, that the aristocracy is gone by. I know no country where it is more alive—in the drawing-room.

There is a club at the corner of the Rue de Grammont, composed of the persons best known *in society* at Paris.

The Duc de Luxembourg, the type of the old aristocracy, is chosen president by a great majority.

But enter a new arena! a complimentary address is to be presented to M. de Chateaubriand. (1)

The address is to produce a sensation: who should present it? The young royalists hold council together.

What person do they select to place at their head—this time? Do the young journalists and bankers and *rentiers* select Monsieur de Luxembourg, or Monsieur de Fitz-James, or Monsieur de Montmorenci? No; but the Duc de Luxembourg, the Duc de Montmorenci, the Marquis de Fitz-James, select—Monsieur —Thomas.

"We have got a capital person," said a Carlist to me. "We have got a capital person to present the address; a Monsieur Thomas!!! Dieu merci, il n'y a rien d'aristocratique dans ce nom là." (2)

This is the circumstance to be remarked in France, a circumstance puzzling to most strangers.

That class, which we call the aristocracy, at the same time takes the lead in private society, and the tail in public affairs.

Defeated in the market-place and the forum, it has entrenched itself in the salon; and if driven from the chamber finds a consolation in breaking the hearts of the deputies' wives.

An aristocracy, then, and the pretensions of an aristocracy, still exist in France, where an aristocracy and its pretensions

(1) On account of the pamphlet containing that famous phrase—

"Votre fils, Madame, est mon Roi,"

addressed to the Duchesse de Berri.

(2) Thank God! there is nothing aristocratic in this name.

can do little harm When I say "harm," I may be using a wrong expression

That elegant and graceful clique which flitted but five years ago in all the suavity of power—for it is not power that is insolent and exclusive—round the royal person, hostile as a favoured band to the interests of the people, forms as a discontented faction the best opposition to a court. They who would sneer at the just rebuke of M. Odillon Barrot, will writhe beneath the courtly satire of Madame de Noailles; and even Napoleon, after unhesitatingly crushing the constitution and the press, halted more than once before the whispered censure of a little brocaded circle, who respected his power to make kings, and smiled at his efforts to make chamberlains.

We may trace the fall, I mean the political fall, of the old nobility in France to Richelieu and to Louis XIV.; undoubtedly they humbled the pride and weakened the provincial power of the feudal chieftains; but it is singular, as an historical fact, that the rise of that commercial class, on which M. Duvergier states the present government to be based, and which certainly placed the present monarch upon his throne, was more especially owing to the accidental reign of a Prince of the House of Orleans.

"In the middle of a populous part of the town, between the streets of St. Denis and St. Martin, extends in the same direction an obscure passage, 450 feet long and 5 broad, bordered on either side by about ninety houses.

"It is called Rue Quincampoix; at a celebrated epoch it was called *la rue*, as Rome was called *la ville*. The two extremities of this street or passage were occupied by a guard, and fortified by an iron grate which opened at six in the morning and closed at nine at night The nobility entered by one end, the vulgar by another; *but the barrier once passed, the most fraternal equality reigned within.*" (1)

This was the vortex amidst the hissing eddies of which the materials of two revolutions were first forged.

At the head of a banking company sat Philippe, Regent of

(1) See Lemontey—Louis XV.

France, and grands seigneurs and sovereigns petitioned to be introduced, under such illustrious auspices, to the mines and the mysteries of jobbing.

What! was an aristocracy ready to sell its birthright for a mess of pottage, and which threw the prestige of its nobility at the feet of a set of swindling Jews and brokers?—Every consideration had been sacrificed for the sake of money, and money became, in consequence, the sole measure of consideration.

In vain then were the velvet hats, and nodding plumes, and graceful mantles of the ancient chivalry of France! on the plain and simple body, which represented the interests of industry and commerce, all eyes in 1789 were fixed; and, when the Tiers-Etat declared themselves the National Assembly, every one felt that in fact they *did* represent the nation. (1)

And now, over the gorgeous superiorities of the past, roll heavily the wheels of the revolution; Napoleon, after the 18th of Brumaire, becomes first magistrate of France; but what is society around him?—to use his own expression—"a mass of pulverized ruins,"—no part does he find more solid and elevated than the rest, on which the seat that he holds may repose, or the throne to which he aspires may be raised. He sought then to form an aristocracy; but a new aristocracy—consistent with—nay, naturally arising out of—the new ideas, by which the old one had been consigned to the tomb.

In the "Legion of Honour" was incorporated a body, which, distinguished for arms and letters, possessed the two titles which at the time obtained national respect.

But the empire succeeded to the consulate: an hereditary principle was to govern the state, and, not wishing that the transmission of his sceptre should be a political anomaly, Bonaparte placed the fortune of his favourites upon the pedestal to which he had raised his own power.

Hence the institution of majorats, which, lying for the most part in a conquered territory, were given with the double object

(1) Law it was who founded that reign of the *bourgeoisie* which expired with the Gironde, began recommencing after the empire, and has existed since the revolution of July, amidst, as I have elsewhere said, a variety of influences and opinions that are opposed to it.

of attaching the nobility to the crown, and its conquests to the empire. (1)

(1) Majorats were unknown in the old French law, and were first instituted under the imperial régime.

The emperor, by the decree 30th August, 1806, created a number of different great fiefs, but in foreign countries, which were to be given to great services, and descend by order of primogeniture from *male* to *male*.

The alienation of these fiefs in foreign countries was authorised on the condition that other estates should be acquired in France and transmitted in the same manner.

A clause always enjoining the acquisition of such property by the man in case of defect of male issue.

This was one species of majorat.

There was also another; the emperor being authorised to create a majorat in favour of any citizen who should have distinguished himself, which majorat was to be founded with the citizen's own private property.

In respect to entails, they were first limited to the second degree by an ordinance 1747, and afterwards prohibited 14th August, 1806. But they were again introduced by a law 3rd October, 1807, in an exceptional case thus expressed:—

"Néanmoins les biens libres formant la dotation de titres héréditaires que l'empereur aurait érigé en faveur d'un prince ou chef de famille pourront être transmis héréditairement."

In all these laws the emperor, as is evident, had the object in view —of creating and perpetuating an aristocracy founded on merit.

They were attacked in discussion on three different grounds:—

1. As contrary to the best principles of political economy.

2. As opposed to the best rules of legislation.

3. As hostile to the soundest interests of morality.

On the first ground it was said that, by making any property inalienable, you took it out of commerce and circulation. The revenue of those majorats that were founded on the property of the emigrants was valued at four millions of francs.

On the second ground, it was urged that it established in perpetuity an unequal lot amongst families, and an impediment to merit.

On the third, the numerous social evils arising out of the poverty of one part of a family, and the exorbitant wealth of another, were demonstrated.

In the first instance this extraordinary personage was governed by the opinions of his time; in the second he endeavoured to impose upon that time his own ideas.

But in the attempt to turn back the current which had carried him so far forward, even the greatest man whom history has recorded was unsuccessful; and thus the reign of Bonaparte remains—but an episode in the history of the French revolution.

Hark! at the very moment that I write, a new crash is heard among that feudal échafaudage, which this Charlemagne of the nineteenth century sought to raise amidst the ideas of Rousseau and recollections of the convention. (1)

(1) LAW RELATIVE TO THE ABOLITION OF MAJORATS AND SUBSTITUTIONS OR ENTAILS.

Article 1. All majorats are interdicted for the future.

2. All majorats, or portions of majorats, founded with private property before the promulgation of the present law, and which before such promulgation shall not have been transmitted, will return to their founders.

3. The majorats of the same nature, created before the promulgation of this law, shall only have effect in favour of those who shall be in possession of the properties thus affected, or who shall have acquired the right to claim them.

4. Nevertheless, (*) in the case foreseen (by the article 2 above), the property cannot be alienated or mortgaged by the founder, if he is married since the creation of the majorat, or before the present law, or if, having become a widower, he has children from the marriage he contracted.

So also in respect to the incumbent, when he shall have married since the institution of the majorat.

Nevertheless, the possessor of the majorat can, with the consent of his wife, dispose of the property, for the establishment of their common children, within the limits of the civil code.

5. If, at the time of the present law being promulgated, there exist

(*) This and the following article were inserted in favour of the women, who, since marriages are always an affair of calculation in families, had been induced most probably to marry under such considerations and expectations.

Surely if any proof were wanting for the justification of those who, five years ago, proclaimed the impossibility of supporting an hereditary peerage in the country of which I am writing, such proof would be found in the present enactment of laws,—laws dictated less by the head than the heart of the nation,—laws the most popular among that middle class which M. Duvergier says *must reign*,—laws destroying the sole foundation on which an aristocracy of descent can be maintained.

Let us be sure of this! when there exists any body in a state, mingled up in the people's concerns, but about which the people feel no interest—a body, the opinion of which can be crushed by the will of a minister, without exciting a murmur in the nation—the persons whose titles, under such circumstances, the monarch may attach to the peerage, are of no more importance than those whose names he, with the same benevolence, affixes on the pension list. They are debtors to the royal bounty, but they are not invested with public consideration.

The object of a second chamber is the institution of a court of national appeal. For its decisions to be valid, such a court must

expectants in succession, married since the creation of a majorat, there shall be in their favour an exception to articles 2 and 3, and they will in consequence receive the majorat, and enjoy it in conformity with the restrictions contained in article 4.

6. The shares which the younger children or widows shall have acquired over property composing such majorats shall be preserved to them.

7. (*) The dotations, or the portions of dotations, consisting of property subjected to the right of returning to the state, will continue to be held and transmitted according to the article of investiture, and without prejudice to the expectations opened by the law of 5th October, 1814.

8. The disposition of the five above-named articles are applicable to the entails made in virtue of the law 27th May, 1826.

9. Abolished in every thing contradictory to the present law the act imperial of 30th March, 1806, the "*senatus consulte*" of the 14th August following, and the decrees of the 18th of March, 1808, and the law of 17th May, 1826.

(*) In the preceding articles mention only has been made of majorats founded on private property.

be independent of the crown, and respected by the people;—for its decisions to be just, such a court must be intimately connected with the habits, the state of property, the sentiments, and the state of society in that country where it exists.

But, even before these later edicts, during the haughtiest times of the restoration, what, in France, was the hereditary chamber?

There it stood! the image of Nebuchadnezzar's idol. On its front were written great names and historical recollections: its head was of gold; but its feet were of clay!

It could not be an efficient body in the government of France, for it was not a body analogous with the society of France.

If the property of the peerage were allowed to undergo the ordinary rule of succession, royalty had before it a small number of families whom it might be necessary to gain for political purposes, and easy to gain by ministerial and courtly favours.

If, on the contrary, laws were made for the continual accumulation of wealth in these families, there was created, in a state where the whole nation was interested in a particular distribution of fortune, and the social and political consequences resulting from it,—a small band, perpetually alone, and aloof from that nation—a band which must have ideas, and habits, and interests totally different from those for whom they were legislating.

Leave this body in the ordinary condition of their fellow citizens, and you deliver them into the hands of the sovereign; separate them and their childrens' children from their fellow citizens, and you destroy that identity which is necessary between the governor and the governed.

Besides, in forming a chamber which ought to comprise the superiorities of a country, it is always necessary to consider what, in that country, will most readily be considered superiorities.

If ancient descent, if large fortune, form those distinctions which the people most willingly acknowledge—on ancient descent and on large fortune base your upper chamber!

The possessor of a large fortune may be looked up to for protection in a country where there is a great class possessing large fortunes.

Such is still the case in England.

The possessor of ancient descent is looked up to in a country,

the great nobles of which enjoy an independent existence, and are by action and history connected with the popular cause.

Such was the case in England.

But show me a state with thirty-two millions of inhabitants, and where there are not above 1,500 landed proprietors with 1,200*l.* a year! (1)

What sentiment will a great fortune, entailed on a few families, create? Respect and confidence?—no; suspicion—suspicion, because instead of being the guarantee to a large class that their condition will be maintained, these few families will exist as a perpetual source of fear to the country, that its existence will be changed.

So, if I find amongst a nation, become deeply attached to popular privileges, a nobility which, during the days of its grandeur was nourished by courtly favour, I know that the names which revive national antipathies will not be proper conductors to public respect?

The two conditions necessary to hereditary legislation exist not in France; and if you give, as a reason for its institution, the advantages it once produced in England, you may as well advocate the culture of the sugar-cane in Norway, because it flourished in St. Domingo.

But the most amusing circumstance in the very remarkable discussion which took place a short time ago in respect to the nature of the peerage in France, was this:—

All the necessities on which an hereditary assembly is founded—nobody desired. A different distribution of property, a great respect for privileged orders—God forbid!

The state of society out of which such an institution naturally arises, was declared to be abominable on all sides; it was the institution itself that a few, no doubt, very wise statesmen and philosophers wanted, without any of its effects, or any of its causes.

This isolated peerage was not to be directly connected with the country, but something separate from the country; not a

(1) About 939 properties pay from 4000 to 5000 francs—the 6th of their revenue; but as other properties joined are in the hands of the same possessor, from 1400 to 1500 is about the calculation.—See Introduction, "France, Literary, Social, and Political, p. xi."—

body reposing upon 80,000 (1) great proprietors—this was denounced as most atrocious—but a nice little body of 300 persons, dropping from the clouds, for there seemed nothing on earth they could arise from, and totally distinct from every body and everything around them.

An aristocracy may be still possible and desirable in France, but not an hereditary aristocracy. For qualities that confer individual respect individuals might be chosen, who would form a body universally respected; but these qualities would not be a pedigree posteriorating to the crusades, nor a fortune accumulated under laws at variance with the habits and ideas of the existing generation.

As the passion for military glory was stronger during the olden time than the pride of birth, so is it stronger at the present time than the pride of equality.

In the reign of Louis XIV. the court saw, without a murmur, the title of "duke," which was a right, submit to the title of "marshal" which was a gift. In the reign of Louis-Philippe, the nation elevates the distinctions of the camp above the doctrines that denounce distinctions among the people.

Nor is the sentiment inspired by success in letters less than that which follows success in arms.

"Les dieux que nous avons maintenant," said a person of no small celebrity lately—"ce sont la science et l'art; nous sommes secoués dans les théâtres et dans la cour comme nous étions jadis dans les églises; les cœurs que nous avons enlevés aux prêtres, nous les devons tout entiers aux philosophes et aux poètes."

The French have one chamber composed of the mediocrities of their country;—a chamber neither elected by the people, who are always attached to the pomp and circumstance of talent; nor by the great proprietors, who, whatever their faults, usually take a noble aspect of public affairs. The chamber of deputies, chosen by a small body of the middle classes, represents the mediocrities of France.

If you wish for another assembly, which the king and the

(1) Ce n'est pas 80,000 tyrans que nous voulons imposer au pays, ce sont seulement 300 individus que nous voulons invester de hautes fonctions. Voilà tout.—*M. Thiers.*

people shall respect, and to which the chamber of deputies can be appealed from, it must be an assembly composed—not of the superiorities of past times, nor of foreign states, but of the acknowledged and existing superiorities of France.

To create such an assembly, was the intention of those who founded the present chamber of peers; but I cannot but think there is a radical vice in the very origin of this institution.

You wish for an independent body, composed of persons whose distinctions shall impose a popular authority upon the sovereign's opinions, or give the sanction of superior capacity and intelligence to the counsels of the people's assembly.

You wish for this, and what do you do? you organize the existence of your political creation so as to cripple it at its very birth. Will those who are named by the king receive the faith of the people, or can they be firm against the sovereign's displeasure?—The head which should be crowned with popularity is dishonoured by suspicion, and the hand that should be armed with independence is paralyzed by gratitude.

LAW CONSTITUTING THE PEERAGE OF THE MONARCHY OF THE REVOLUTION.

Louis-Philippe, King of the French, to all present and to come —*salut!*

The chambers have adopted—we have ordained, and ordain as follows:—

ARTICLE UNIQUE.

Replacing 23rd Article of the Charter.

The nomination of Membres of the Chamber of Peers belongs to the King, *who can only choose* among the notabilities following. (1)

The number of peers is illimited.

Their dignity shall be given for life, and is not transmissible by order of nomination.

L. PHILIPPE.

Palace of the Tuileries, 29th Dec. 1831.

(1) For Notabilities, see Appendix.

STATE OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

CHAPTER VI.

State of Working Classes more favourable than formerly—Division of Property—Saving Banks and Associations—Population in Towns and Country—The Population in the former require Poor-Laws—System existing—But though the people in towns are badly off, this is rather on account of dissipated habits than want of wages—How to remedy this—Immediate necessity for improving the Working Classes, since the Government which has passed the Aristocracy must descend to them—Police Regulations promoting order amongst them—Causes of late disorders, etc.

THE monarch,(1) whose solitary statue escaped the revolution of July, owes great part of his popularity to the wish, which no doubt he as honestly expressed as easily forgot, viz. "that every peasant should have a chicken in his pot for his Sunday's repast;"—and still, the desire which every philanthropist feels to arrange society under a law that shall protect the interests and advance the happiness of the multitude—and the difficulty which every legislator finds in carrying into practice such benevolent intentions—makes us look with peculiar interest on any community, whence instruction is to be derived, in this, the great lesson, to be taught the rulers of mankind.

From what I have already said of "the lower classes" in France, it may be concluded that I have formed a favourable opinion as to their condition; but I would now enter into the present state and future prosperity of this body with more detail.

What a different picture shall I have to draw from that given us by Rousseau, when, quitting the divided soil of Savoy, he first placed his foot on that country over which he was destined

(1) Henry IV.

to exercise so powerful a sway, and which he then found in the possession of a bankrupt nobility and a starving people!

In the first place:

The period of human existence has increased by seven years, since the calculations made in 1780; and when we consider that this increase, here taken in the average, ought to be almost entirely given to the poor, who have chiefly profited by it, we shall have some idea of the increased comforts and advantages they enjoy.

And now, much that I have said on the division of property comes again under consideration.

The number of landed proprietors may, certainly, be calculated at five millions.

The number of persons, who, as the head of some trade or industry, paid the tax on patents in 1832, were 1,118,300;—add the number of persons not included in either of the above denominations, and who possess mortgages, houses, or shares of houses, or capital invested in the funds!

Surely I may say, if to these holders of patents I add the various possessors and proprietors of land, of houses, of funded property, and of mortgages, there will, at the lowest estimate, be 7,000,000 persons, which, allowing four for a family, make 28,000,000 interested, because, according to the French law of succession, a share of this property will come to them—in some species of property or other: there remain then but 4,500,000, who have not property, or the expectation of it.

How many of these have accumulated, and are still accumulating, the means of independence in those banks, institutions worthy of the social epoch in which we live—banks formed by the benevolent intelligence of the rich, in order to relieve the burthens, and at the same time encourage the industry of the poor—banks already existing in Amiens, Avignon, Besançon, Bordeaux, Douai, Dunkerque, Hâvre, Lyon, Lunéville, Metz, Mulhausen, Nantes, Orleans, Paris, Rennes, Rouen, Rheims, St. Etienne, Toulon, Toulouse, Versailles,—and demanded in Annonay, Carcassonne, Cherbourg, Lille, Mâcon, Montargis, Nancy, etc., etc.

SAVINGS' BANKS FORMED.

From 1818 to 1830.	11
1832.	4
1833.	12
1834.	20
Since.	39
	86 (1)

In 1826, eight years after the creation of these establishments, in a hundred persons depositing their savings, there were not above 16 of the working classes; in 1831, there were 45.

A considerable portion of this body indeed in Paris has savings deposited in the savings' banks, (2) and a great number also belongs to some kind of benevolent society.

The progress of these benevolent societies is worthy of notice :

From 1810 to 1830, were authorized.	185
From 1830 to 1834.	32
During. . . 1834.	27
	244

They are generally formed amongst workmen of the same profession, paying a small monthly contribution (from 1 to 3 francs), in consideration of which relief is to be afforded (about 1 franc a-day) when sickness, infirmity, or accident deprive them of employment.

The earliest associations of this description are :—

That of St. Anne, founded for all professions in 1694, and containing 160 members.

That of cabinet-makers, founded 1760.

That of typographists, founded 1789, possessing 80 members, and an income of 1,750 francs.

The most numerous are :—

(1) It is to be remarked, that the lottery decreased in almost the same proportion—in the three first months in 1834, it had diminished by 3,687,000 francs : it is now abolished.

(2) In 1830, the savings' bank of Paris alone received 93,284,325 francs, subdivided into 751,567 deposits, made by different persons at different times.

That of the hatters, that of the paper-makers, that of the printers, and that of the painters on porcelain; some of these have a capital of 15,000 to 16,000 francs.

The persons absolutely dependent upon their daily labour for support—who if thrown out of employment have no kind of resource—must necessarily then be small. The population of the rural districts are frugal, sober, and laborious, anxious to obtain a piece of ground, or to extend that which they possess; proud of the title of "peasant" which is usually linked with that of "proprietor," simple, indefatigable and independent. Here you will hardly find a pauper, except from malady or accident.

In rural villages, indeed, I have frequently found, upon inquiry, not more than two or three poor (I mean supported by charity) in a population of 1,500—and these were persons corresponding with Mr. Cobbett's account, not unable to find work, but incapable of performing it.

In towns, however, the case is different.

M. Bigot de Morogues, in a work lately published, gives a curious notice of this distinction, and, according to him, indeed, the number of poor is almost relative to the number of large towns in any particular district.

	Beggars or Indigent.	Under the "Surveillance" of the Police.
In the towns of above 50,000 inhabitants, and in the departments they belong to, we find, he says, on 10,000 inhabitants,	1,040	170
In 26 departments which have towns above 20,000 persons, on 10,000,	560	130
In 50 departments which have towns above 6,000 persons, on 10,000,	490	110
In those departments which have no town above 5,000 persons, on 10,000,	380	60

Monsieur de Villeneuve draws similar conclusions :—

In towns of above 1,500 persons, he estimates one tenth as paupers.

And in the rest of France one thirtieth.

In the northern departments, where land is *less divided* than

in general, and cultivated with *larger capitals*, there is by far the greatest number of indigent; and in the towns of this division, pauperism has even risen to an alarming extent.

"Here," says M. Villeneuve, "the poor consist of workmen, ignorant, improvident, brutified by debauchery, or enervated by manufacturing labours, and habitually unable to support their families."

These statements are curious, for they corroborate much that we find, and which I have ventured to remark, in England—showing that in France also the greatest misery is frequently to be seen in those spots where wealth is on the most rapid increase.

A new consideration here arises, which, as it is connected with a question exciting deep interest amongst ourselves, I shall take the liberty to speak of. People have occupied themselves much with discussing whether there should be "poor-laws," or whether there should not be "poor-laws,"—paying little attention, for the most part, to the state of society to which such institutions are to be applied: though it is precisely that state of society which may render them altogether useless or imperatively requisite.

When we look at France, which has no law upon the subject, we find a certain necessity making regulations, and preparing the minds of men for regulations, according to the various circumstances it has to provide for.

In the rural districts, and in those rural districts more especially where property is in the greatest degree divided, the proposition of a poor-law would be treated as absurd.

Because, first;—the labourer is not altogether dependent upon wages; he has something, when out of employ, to fall back upon, and his patch of ground supplies the place of the poor-rate.

Because, secondly;—the great mass who possess property have no fear of the small number who have nothing: and because, thirdly;—the very small number who are out of employ, and have no bit of ground, or who, from sickness or accident, are incapable of working for themselves or others, are of the same class, and frequently of the same parentage, as those from whom relief is to come; therefore no law is required to oblige persons to an act of duty and charity, which their own feeling,

and affection, or the opinion of all around them, would compel them to perform.

But just in the degree that you approach other places, where the labourer has nothing to depend upon but his wages—where the possessors of wealth are few, and naturally in dread of the desperation of the greater number;—and where, moreover, the different distribution of fortune has so separated the classes, as that the poor can appeal to no one among the rich, except on some regulation made among the rich themselves;—there you observe, as in the Department du Nord, for instance, where the greatest capitals are found, and where four towns,

Lisle Valenciennes Cambrai Dunkirk	Population 121,389,

furnish 36,250 paupers;—there, I say, you observe, to use the words of M. Villeneuve, "*que la taxe des pauvres s'est forcément introduite;*"—and so, let people reason as they will, it must introduce itself, as a wise and prudent policy of the wealthy, wherever society is fluctuating, and the many have nothing to depend upon more certain than their casual employment.

Paris, the natural reservoir for the enterprize of the kingdom (out of 5,547 persons relieved in one of the arrondissements of Paris (1834), 2,196 were not of Parisian birth, and 179 not of French extraction), gives no idea of the state of tranquil sufficiency which prevails throughout the country in general; but it is there that the present system for the relief of the poor is most developed, and can best be studied.

The budget of that metropolis contains a charge of 10,186,588 francs for the poor; (1) the aid given being under the following heads:

(1) This charge is supplied by the following sources:—

Revenus en argent, loyers, fermages, etc.	1,136,271
Fermages en nature	295,000
Rentes sur l'état	1,201,472
Rentes sur les particuliers.	11,000
Dons et legs	100,000
	2,743,743

1. Public establishments 24; 13 being hospitals destined to the sick, and containing 5,537 beds; and 11 "hospices" or houses where the indigent and infirm may be received, to the number of 11,740 persons.

2. Relief sent to persons at their own houses.

3. Les enfans-trouvés.

The movement, 1833, of the population in these establishments, was as follows:

	Hospitals.	Hospices.	Total.
Individuals there 1st Jan. . .	4,170	9,557	13,727
Admitted during the year. . .	61,765	3,190	64,955
	65,935	12,747	78,682

To these numbers are to be added—

1. Enfans trouvés, in the country or at Paris, on the 1st Jan. (orphans included)	17,435
2. Enfans trouvés, abandoned during the year	5,693
3. Children placed out to nurse by the bureau des nourrices (1)	1,760
4. Indigent assisted at home	68,986
Total number altogether (2) being	172,556

There are also, at the outskirts of Paris, large establishments,

	2,743,743
Intérêts de capitaux	12,000
Journées de malades, pensions payées pour l'admission.	386,100
Produits intérieurs, successions hospitalières.	81,200
Mont-de-Piété.	231,970
Spectacles	600,000
Marchés créés.	296,300
Recettes diverses.	30,000
Subvention par la ville de Paris.	5,238,000
Subvention par le département pour les enfans trouvés.	400,000
Subvention extraordinaire pour grands travaux.	92,000
Emploi des capitaux de l'administration.	75,075
	10,186,388

(1) A bureau to which persons desiring children to nurse can apply. The applicants are submitted to certain regulations, and must be monthly examined.

(2) *i. e.* one to eleven persons in Paris, double the proportion which the poor bear to the population in France in general.

POPULATION OF PARIS,

TING THE SAME.

TS.					
8	9	10	11	12	TOTAL.
72,800	42,561	83,127	50,227	77,456	770,286
10,474	4,844	5,750	4,341	12,894	68,986
1to6,950	1to8,786	1to14,456	1to11,576	1to6,007	1to11,165
2,528	1,870	1,757	1,285	3,581	20,301
1,788	481	1,172	920	2,238	11,422
4,316	2.351	2,929	2,205	5,819	31,723
2,452	1,207	1,194	1,038	3,090	16,167
3,864	2,036	2,599	1,958	5,102	28,021
2,045	753	967	679	2,282	12,096
2,113	848	990	668	2,420	12,702
10,474	4,844	5,750	4,341	12,894	68,986
2,011	928	1,116	785	2,500	13,173
1,683	1,011	1,243	887	2,185	12,875
458	329	545	385	796	4,350
164	83	25	148	338	1,325
11	11	20	5	25	151
41	26	30	30	31	489
109	113	215	130	198	1,443
94	63	67	39	177	692
10	10	4	5	66	139
5	17	19	11	19	150
37	49	127	125	92	1,004
32	13	15	18	49	218
19	27	15	10	19	184
152	141	70	84	292	1,506
224	147	205	136	578	2,490
924	234	448	283	787	4,228
3	5	2	6	13	50
83	65	54	96	122	809
279	361	694	353	536	4,050
127	63	100	89	134	1,017
286	139	197	162	309	2,089
87	28	56	38	93	494
5	7	9	11	18	102
505	237	362	300	554	3,702

To face page 225.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION
OF
PUBLIC ASYLUMS, AND SUCCOUR TO PRIVATE DWELLINGS AT PARIS.

FOR THE YEAR 1832.

NUMERICAL STATEMENT OF THE INDIGENT POPULATION OF PARIS,

AND STATISTIC INFORMATION RESPECTING THE SAME.

DETAILS OF INFORMATION.		ARRONDISSEMENTS. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	TOTAL.
General Population of Paris, according to the census of 1831.		66,793	74,773	49,833	44,736	67,756	80,811	59,415	72,800	42,561	83,127	50,227	77,456	770,286
Indigent Population of Paris.		3,836	3,033	2,506	3,769	5,187	8,222	4,130	10,474	4,844	5,750	4,341	12,894	68,986
Proportion of the indigent to the general Population.		1 to 18,976	1 to 24,653	1 to 19,885	1 to 11,868	1 to 13,062	1 to 9,828	1 to 14,836	1 to 6,950	1 to 8,786	1 to 14,456	1 to 11,576	1 to 6,007	1 to 11,165
Indigent families succoured.	Annually.	1,099	820	738	624	1,935	2,279	1,785	2,528	1,870	1,757	1,285	3,581	20,301
	Temporarily	567	658	440	1,133	324	1,461	240	1,788	481	1,172	920	2,238	11,422
	Total.	1,666	1,478	1,178	1,757	2,259	3,740	2,025	4,316	2,351	2,929	2,205	5,819	31,723
Individuals composing indigent families.	Men.	873	679	572	894	1,214	1,970	984	2,452	1,207	1,191	1,038	3,090	16,167
	Women.	1,506	1,319	1,057	1,553	1,986	3,320	1,723	3,864	2,036	2,599	1,958	5,102	28,021
	Boys	717	484	414	669	959	1,438	689	2,045	753	967	679	2,282	12,096
	Girls	740	551	463	653	1,028	1,494	734	2,113	848	990	668	2,420	12,702
	Total.	3,836	3,033	2,506	3,769	5,187	8,222	4,130	10,474	4,844	5,750	4,341	12,894	68,986
Civil condition, or social relation of the heads of indigent families.	Married Persons.	719	559	476	713	1,017	1,584	795	2,011	928	1,116	785	2,500	13,173
	Widowers	756	634	491	694	874	1,503	914	1,683	1,011	1,243	887	2,185	12,875
	Bachelors	140	247	175	240	329	453	253	458	329	545	385	796	4,350
	Deserted Women	51	38	36	110	39	200	93	164	83	25	148	338	1,325
Birth of the heads of indigent families.	Born in Paris	418	396	293	448	580	1,301	561	1,384	694	771	598	2,151	9,595
	Born out of Paris but married in Paris	592	878	195	290	356	633	320	925	292	481	276	892	5,430
	Born out of Paris, unmarried, or married out of Paris, or widowers whose place of marriage is unknown	656	904	690	1,019	1,323	1,806	1,144	2,007	1,365	1,677	1,331	2,776	16,698
Age of the heads of indigent families.	Under the age of 60	786	638	504	943	967	1,856	838	2,253	1,177	1,270	989	3,200	15,421
	Orphans	1	23	9	19	8	55	21	35	15	89	10	172	457
	——— from 60 to 64 years	201	187	168	239	274	797	268	486	314	438	296	716	4,084
	——— from 65 to 74 years	498	426	387	410	759	975	664	1,130	634	851	660	1,321	8,715
	——— from 75 to 79 years	130	136	74	101	175	252	170	293	155	195	271	312	2,164
	——— from 80 to 89 years	48	63	35	45	75	101	60	115	55	82	77	95	851
	——— from 90 to 99 years	2	5	1	,,	1	4	4	4	1	4	2	3	31
	Above 100 years of age.	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Indigent families burdened with children under 12 years of age	1 Child.	84	75	64	155	145	251	94	380	169	165	138	497	2,217
	2 Children.	111	95	91	172	191	356	166	439	229	209	142	598	2,799
	3 Children.	230	149	107	175	232	403	205	575	211	248	169	580	3,284
	4 Children and above	104	71	75	69	152	171	89	291	80	148	94	269	1,613
Families without children under 12 years.		1,137	1,088	841	1,186	1,539	2,559	1,471	2,631	1,662	2,150	1,662	3,875	21,810
Rents of the lodgings of indigent families.	50 fr. and under.	181	120	65	124	203	324	231	846	375	326	270	940	4,005
	51 — to 100 fr.	688	494	485	585	904	1,587	883	2,134	1,070	1,558	919	2,985	14,292
	101 — to 200.	454	406	350	626	612	998	447	537	437	390	497	812	6,566
	201 — to 300.	12	20	13	15	13	44	10	29	12	12	23	28	231
	301 — to 400.	5	5	,,	56	,,	6	,,	6	2	1	5	5	91
	Above 400	1	,,	,,	1	,,	5	,,	4	,,	2	3	,,	16
	Lodges free of rent as porters.	158	263	133	145	389	534	266	520	269	480	263	724	4,144
		167	170	132	205	138	242	188	240	186	160	225	325	2,378
Professions of indigent heads of families. Men.	Rag-collectors	15	,,	3	2	8	4	9	9	10	7	4	67	138
	Coachmen	50	29	16	5	29	25	1	41	15	38	17	49	315
	Messengers.	40	54	50	96	105	139	56	181	63	56	60	171	1,071
	Shoemakers	31	37	38	112	73	160	68	79	60	65	71	150	944
	Aged domestics	25	15	7	12	13	6	3	5	6	10	7	6	115
	Aged agents and clerks.	8	7	11	28	29	22	11	12	24	17	16	58	243
	Clothes Salesmen	13	12	20	60	69	90	90	75	86	24	38	161	738
	Builders' labourers.	75	74	70	58	180	220	39	388	147	101	123	458	1,933
	Journeymen of various trades.	390	208	135	224	499	884	383	1,312	514	501	347	1,428	6,825
	Water-carriers.	2	16	5	25	13	17	19	34	23	19	24	65	262
	Porters.	124	126	98	89	79	147	120	157	121	106	167	202	1,536
	Cobblers.	11	7	11	11	11	20	8	11	11	20	5	25	151
	Tailors	18	30	33	115	34	69	32	41	26	30	30	31	489
	Without trade	74	74	75	65	76	167	147	109	113	215	130	198	1,443
Women.	Washerwomen.	54	28	19	61	31	36	23	94	63	67	39	177	692
	Rag-collectors.	9	3	,,	1	8	16	7	10	10	4	5	66	139
	Aged servants	29	8	9	9	11	8	5	5	17	19	11	19	150
	Charwomen	88	139	65	61	64	97	60	37	49	127	125	92	1,004
	Childrens' nurses	19	14	10	4	17	20	7	32	13	15	18	49	218
	Sick nurses	9	18	8	12	11	18	18	19	27	15	10	19	184
	Vendors of Female Apparel.	56	63	43	154	118	212	121	152	141	70	84	292	1,506
	Needlewomen	118	147	87	220	148	312	168	224	147	205	136	578	2,490
	Workwomen of various trades.	255	100	148	118	305	449	177	924	234	448	283	787	4,228
	Water-carriers.	1	3	,,	3	2	9	3	3	5	2	6	13	50
	Porters and Basket-women.	38	44	34	56	62	87	68	83	65	54	96	122	809
	Without trade or business.	114	222	183	156	264	506	382	279	361	694	353	536	4,050
Paupers receiving special help.	Octogenarians	56	67	36	53	89	120	83	127	63	100	89	134	1,017
	Septuagenarians	110	111	87	100	155	265	168	286	139	197	162	309	2,089
	Blind.	15	10	10	25	36	57	39	87	28	56	38	93	494
	Infirm	2	4	8	17	8	9	4	5	7	9	11	18	102
	Total.	183	192	141	195	288	451	294	505	237	362	300	554	3,702

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or houses of repression, where all persons, without employment or profession, are received—but these, originally intended as charitable, are almost become penal institutions, and chiefly contain persons whom the police deem it expedient thus to dispose of.

The most interesting part of the statement I have entered into, is that relating to the aid given the indigent at their own houses, and which is extended, as it appears, to no less than 68,986 individuals; concerning whom I refer to the annexed statement.

This relief is chiefly administered in kind, and mostly through the medium of tickets upon the baker, the butcher, etc.; relief in money being reserved chiefly for the aged and infirm.

This is done by the aid of 12 bureaux of charity or benevolence, one to each of the arrondissements of Paris.

These bureaux are under the superintendence of the prefect of the department, and the council general, which has charge of the general administration of the hospitals, hospices, etc.

Each bureau is composed :

1st. Of the mayor of the arrondissement (as president), and his two adjuncts, of the curate of the parish, and his desservans (curates or assistants).

2nd. Of 12 other administrators named by the minister of the interior, renewed every year by one fourth, according to the order of their nomination.

3rd. Of an indefinite number of visiters to the poor and "ladies of charity" (ladies who give up their time to charitable pursuits), named by the bureau, but not assisting at its deliberations except when invited.

4th. In those arrondissements where there is a protestant church, of the protestant clergyman.

5th. Of a responsible agent, under the title of secretary and treasurer, who receives a salary and is obliged to give security.

Out of Paris—

Houses of repression, as established in 1793, (1) have been

(1) By a decree of the 20th of May, 1790, two convents were provisionally assigned, one for the reception of the infirm poor, one for the reception and employment of those who were not unfit for labour.

18th of October, 1793, "houses of repression" were formed—esta-

found not to answer, and they now only exist where a number of different communes unite to form one.

Here too they act like the two establishments I have mentioned

blishments in which every able man was received and employed at 3-4ths the ordinary wages given in the canton.

Every "chef-lieu" of a department was to have one of these houses of repression, and every one begging was to be punished in the first instance with *one* year's, in the second, with two years' imprisonment.

But the most remarkable attempt at a really wise poor-law made in these times, was by a decree published May 11th 1794, commanding the formation of "a book of national benevolence," divided under three heads :

1. Cultivators, old and infirm.

2. Artisans, old and infirm.

3. Mothers and widows of the same having children.

Under the first head, every poor man, sixty years old, furnished with a certificate attesting that he had been employed for twenty years in the cultivation of the soil, was to receive 160 francs a-year.

The number of such persons was fixed at 400 for each department, and a sum of 7,544,000 francs for this purpose was placed at the disposal of the commission of public charities.

Under the second head, all artisans under sixty years old, infirm and poor, and who had exercised any industry for twenty-five years, were entitled to 120 francs per ann.

The number of these was fixed at 200 per department, and the sum allotted 2,040,000 fr.

In respect to the mothers and widows having children, all mothers having two children under ten years, and a third at breast; all widows having one child under ten years and a second at breast, had a claim to the annual charity of sixty francs, and twenty francs additional, if, at the expiration of the year, they presented their child alive to the agent of the commune.

Six hundred and fifty wives and widows thus situated, and one hundred and fifty widows, who had no children, and who received considerably less.

The sum here allotted was 3,060,000,

A recompense was also given by the same law to any "*mère filles*," to virgins with children!

The expense of this project, however congenial to the spirit of the

at the outskirts of Paris, less as charitable than as penal or restrictive institutions, and are principally maintained with a view of preventing the circulation of improper characters through the country.

Each commune has a bureau of charity or bienfaisance, similar to those bureaux I have described in Paris, and a *hospice* or house of reception.

These are supported partly by charitable bequests, which form a permanent fund, partly by charitable donations, and partly by the sum voted by the municipal council, a sum regulated by the wants of the poor and the capacity of the commune.

The law still punishes any *valid* beggar with imprisonment, and the punishment becomes heavier if he begs out of his commune. (1)

Invalid beggars also may, for the act of begging, be sent to the *hospice* or house of reception, which, if they have any other means of subsistence, though the accommodation in most of these houses is good, they hate and avoid.

Thus, there are two methods of relief adopted, the one administered at home, to persons accidentally reduced to want, and who wish not to sink into the class of beggars in perpetuity; the other, given in houses of refuge, to persons less sensible of shame, and who would be inclined to imitate indigence in order to obtain the occasional luxuries of wealth.

But though the people in towns, and more particularly in manufacturing towns, seem liable to distress, it is fair and necessary to say, that this seems less caused by the real wants than the improvident habits of the people. I may cite one instance at Lyons.

time that produced it, was found more than the state, burthened with a war, could bear—and it only remains as a monument of the great and beneficent designs, which the madmen of the republic, at the very moment that they were sending their fellow citizens by battalions to the guillotine, no doubt contemplated:—such are the contradictions of mankind! and such the injustice of history when it praises or condemns without restriction.

(1) But this law, except in extraordinary cases, where the beggar is a known vagabond, or takes no pains to find employment, is rarely enforced. A calculation, that gives 198,000 beggars in France, states that 500 were convicted of begging.

The whole land-tax of the department of the Rhone (in which Lyons is situated) is 2,876,500 francs, and for 10 years prior to 1830, the annual amount of money put into the lottery in the town of Lyons alone, was 3,400,000 francs. (1)

I subjoin a table which I have taken much pains to form, and which states many particulars relative to the class I am describing at Paris.

As it may be seen from this table, the characteristic weakness of the working classes in France is the desire for amusement, and for such amusements as cannot be enjoyed without expense. They waste the Sunday, very frequently the Monday or Tuesday, in the guinguettes, the theatre; there is no control over this habit. There is no duty, no passion to counterbalance it, for there is no religion, or little religion, in the cities more especially; neither has the education hitherto given to the working classes offered more intellectual resources than the tavern at the *barrière*, or the *spectacle* on the Boulevards. The child, taking to any trade, having received little instruction during his boyhood, starts at eighteen, to make the tour of France. He passes from town to town, contracting, as it is easy to suppose, more vices than virtues in his way, and ends either by settling in the capital or returning to his native town, with the information he has thus acquired.

It does not so often happen then, that a fair subsistence cannot be acquired in the towns, as that it is either extravagantly expended, or not sought to be procured. The evil to remedy is a moral evil, which can only be remedied by moral improvement. The new law on education must produce its effect; but there is a particular species of education adapted to the working classes, adapted especially to the working classes of France, and which, existing in France, to a certain extent it is to be expected, that an intelligent and philanthropic government will attempt to improve. If you tell the man and his wife, who are just starting off for their Sunday's debauch, that they would do much better to come and hear a lecture on painting or chemistry, they will not be likely to listen

(1) It might be said, that it was the richer and not the poorer classes by whom this money was subscribed; this objection, however, is met by the fact, that since 1830, when the price of the lowest shares was raised to two francs, the produce of the whole decreased by one half.

NO. BSERVATIONS.

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rade.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
SEVERAL PROFESSIONS.

NO.		OBSERVATIONS.
1	Carpenters.	It is to be well understood, that the hours of labour pointed out only apply to the fine season of the year, with respect to workmen employed in house-building. In bad weather, they work according to the length of day, and a deduction is made from their wages, for the difference between the hours of *actual* [illegible] mere workmen, and I take no notice of them. The difference in the prices, therefore, applies to men working at home, or in their masters' shops.
2	House-Joiners.	
3	Tilers.	
4	Masons.	
16	House-Painters	

from other trades and professions not
eiving 2 fr. 50 cents. per day; persons
of the Prefect de la Seine.

ents.
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nts. or 11½ d.

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NOTICE OF THE PRINCIPAL PROFESSIONS CARRIED ON IN PARIS, AND OBSERVATIONS APPLICABLE TO EACH OF THEM, IN THEIR SOCIAL HABITS.

NO.	PROFESSIONS OR TRADES.	USUAL DAILY GAIN.	HOURS OF LABOUR.	EXPENSES OF MAINTENANCE.	To what part of the Country the greater Number belong.	Number of Individuals in each Profession or Trade, who belonged to a Relief Society in June 1850.	PARTICULAR CHARACTER OF EACH PROFESSION.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	Carpenters. . . .	4 fr.	10	Workmen generally spend from 20 to 30 sols a day for their food. This applies to those who live at the *cabaret*—their lodging is 6 francs a-month. But it will readily be understood, that nothing is fixed on this subject—that is to say, some spend less money, from motives of economy; others more, through dissipation; but the mean term is from 1 fr. 30 to 1 fr. 40.	The South	45	Quarellers, violent in their hatreds.	Journeymen masons only earn 2 francs.
2	House Joiners. . .	3 or 3: 50c.	10 and 11		various parts	110	Pretty good; but as they have not much confidence in the master builders, they attach themselves to no particular master.	
3	Tilers.	4 or 5	10		do.	180	Good workmen.	
4	Masons.	3: 50 or 3: 75	10		Limousin	None	Frequently beg in order to save—sober—wanting energy of character.	
5	Stonecutters. . . .	5 or 6 fr.	by the work		do.	100	Very laborious.	
6	Glaziers.	2 fr. to 2: 50	10		Paris	60	Idle.	
7	Shoemakers. . . .	2 to 2: 50	by the work		various parts	185	A mixture of all.	
8	Hatters.	4 or 5 fr.	do.		Paris	1380	Drunkards.	
9	Tailors.	3. 4 or 5 fr.	do.		do.		Vicious and dissatisfied.	
10	Nappers.	2 fr.	12		do.		So wretched, that no fault should be found with them.	
11	Cotton-Spinners. . .	1 to 2 fr.	12 to 15		do.			
12	Cabinet-Makers. . .	3: 50 to 5 fr.	10		various parts	100	Fond of drinking, but of quiet tempers.	
13	Paper-stainers. . .	2 to 2: 50	10		Paris	320	Of quiet tempers.	
14	Upholsterers. . . .	3 to 4 fr.	not fixed.		various parts	45	The same term well applies to these.	
15	Printers, and analogous trades. . .	4 to 5 fr.	do.		Paris	2160	Drinkers—great boasters—as they have taken an active part in the days of July, they have a high opinion of themselves.	
16	House-Painters . .	4 fr.	11		do.	300	Drunkards—very careless.	
17	Marble-cutters. . .	4, 5, and 6 fr.	by the work		do.	195	Drinkers, and hot-headed.	
18	Paviors.	2: 50 to 3 fr.	10 to 11		Limousin	None	Sober.	
19	Lacemen.	2 to 2: 50	by the work		Paris	90	Men tolerably regular—women rather loose in their conduct.	
20	Watchmakers and Jewellers, and analogous trades. . .	3, 4, or 5 fr.	according to length of days.		various parts	450	Quiet, of studious habits; come from different parts of France to perfect themselves in Paris.	
21	Workmen in harbours	5 to 10 fr.	do.		do.	220	Exceedingly addicted to drinking.	
22	Curriers.	3: 50 to 4 fr.	12		do.	200	Drunkards in the highest deg.	
23	Linen-drapers. . .	Excepting the lace-dressers of fine work, who earn 2: 50 a day, the others earn from 15 to 25 sols at most. Those in shops receive their food, washing and lodging, and earn 150, 200, or 250 francs a year.	night and day in case of need.		Paris	,,	It is to be observed, that there is no kind of relief society for women. This arises, no doubt, from the smallness of their wages. The 65 women who are to be found in the benevolent societies belong to the Society of Graphic Arts.	With respect to the number of the workmen belonging to the relief societies, it is impossible to procure the exact numbers, for the same person will occasionally belong to two or three societies—added to which, all are not intended for a particular object, since 3000 persons belong to societies which indiscriminately admit the members of every trade.
24	Sempstresses. . . .				do.	,,		
25	Dressmakers, Florists				do.	,,		
26	Lacedresses. . . .				do.	,,		
27	Binders.				do.	,,		
28	Embroiderers. . .				do.	,,		
						6140		

NO.		OBSERVATIONS.
1	Carpenters.	It is to be well understood, that the hours of labour pointed out only apply to the fine season of the year, with respect to workmen employed in house-building. In bad weather, they work according to the length of day, and a deduction is made from their wages, for the difference between the hours of *actual* labour, and the time of labour *required of them*. The line of difference, in respect to house-joiners, arises from their working in the shop one hour more than in town; because, in the latter case, they have the walk to take in addition.
2	House-Joiners.	
3	Tilers.	
4	Masons.	
16	House-Painters	
7	Shoemakers.	Amongst the shoemakers and tailors, some are found to work in their masters' shops, others at home. The latter naturally earn more, since the master is not obliged to find them in lodging, fire, and light during the day. Some shoemakers also work on their own account, and afterwards sell their work to tradesmen keeping shops; but in this case they are no longer considered as mere workmen, and I take no notice of them. The difference in the prices, therefore, applies to men working at home, or in their masters' shops.
9	Tailors.	

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SEVERAL PROFESSIONS.

Note.—From this Table it appears that 6,140 belong to the societies I have noticed—many may be added from other trades and professions not noticed—such as bakers (receiving 3 fr. per day wages); fan-makers, of which there are 966 in all, the men receiving 2 fr. 50 cents. per day; persons employed in the manufacture of tobacco (in all 1059), the men receiving 3 fr. per day, etc., etc.—See Reports of the Prefect de la Seine.

Meals and expenses.—At nine o'clock in the morning, soup and half a dish. . 30 cents.
— Two o'clock, noon, half a dish and wine. . . . . 30 —
— Six in the evening, good meal, and wine. . . . . 40 —
Ditto ditto, bread 2lbs. . . . . 30 —

Total. . . . . 130 cents. or 11 ½ d.

Lodgings, 6 fr. month.

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very patiently to your injunction. But if you show them a beautiful picture, explain its subject, mark and make them remark the characteristics, and the talents of the artist, they will receive your lesson as an amusement, and have the satisfaction of learning without the suspicion of being taught. The same may be said of chemistry, even of astronomy, the illustrations of which I remember seeing when a boy, with a kind of mysterious pleasure, resembling, but far exceeding, that which I should have received from a play.

Monsieur le Chevalier, an officer in the engineers, of very considerable attainments, instituted, shortly after the revolution of July, a gratuitous course of lectures upon this plan, and especially adapted to the working classes. These lectures were delivered in the Théâtre Molière, and attended by about 3,000 of the working classes of Paris. M. le Chevalier would sometimes conduct these men to the Louvre, point out to them the pictures most deserving attention, recount the history of the artist, the subject of the piece, and every day so entertaining a professor found himself surrounded by new disciples.

It is to be regretted that these lectures, which commenced with the simple intention of improving the moral condition of the poor, were afterwards converted to political purposes. The government then found itself obliged to discourage them, and M. le Chevalier himself abandoned his voluntary professorship. Since which time, though still continued, they are little attended, and only exist as a memorial of what might be achieved on a similar plan, and which, if instituted by the government, would be under its controul. (1)

(1) I shall be much misunderstood, if it be supposed that I mean to deny amusements to the poor, and condemn them, as the condition of their destiny, to unceasing toil. But there are amusements which elevate the character, and there are amusements which debase it; amusements which strengthon the body, amusements which enfeeble it. There are expenses also which lead to improvement and comfort, as there are expenses which lead to idleness and want. The money spent in drinking, which is an amusement, is better spent on a book, which, read to the family, is an amusement also. A more comfortable piece of furniture, a larger and more healthy apartment, warmer clothing; —these are not amusements certainly, but the poor man would frequently

It may be asked, of what use is painting, of what use is history or chemistry to the poor? I answer that all knowledge is useful in softening the mind, in opening the intelligence;—all knowledge is useful moreover, which comes as a substitute for some more vicious gratification. But a practical illustration is now before me—the best proof for or against a disputed theory.

Travel over France, visit every great town of that great empire, where will you find the working classes most decent in their behaviour, most respectable in their appearance? At Metz; and why at Metz? There, there are lectures established and supported by the respectable inhabitants and officers of the town,—lectures on chemistry, history, etc. (1)

The change which has been produced among the working classes of Metz by these means is something marvellous. It is to be traced immediately in their manners. If you meet a working man, you find him polite, polished, correct in his language, easy without being confident in his conversation. You would take him, if he were not worse dressed and better informed, for a respectable *bourgeois* of Paris.

There seems, I admit, something theoretical in these projects of excessive perfection; but in France—attention is invited to them, not by any benevolent dream of distant philanthropy, nor any prospective consideration for future generations. The wisdom and policy of the day, of the hour, call the legislature to active and incessant preparation for that great scheme of democracy, now in the first stage of its development, but which is likely, even during the lifetime of us—whose eyes are now open—to have a prosperous or fatal trial.

There is that sanctity in great names and deeds, there is so natural and almost holy a veneration implanted in us for antique recollections and superstitions, that it is impossible for society

do well in these respects to sacrifice a day's pleasures, in order to procure what will add considerably to his year's happiness. It is not that I wish to circumscribe the relaxations of the poor there; I only wish to give them such relaxations as will not withdraw them from industry nor deprive them of their comforts.

(1) Every person may have a ticket on applying for it; but if he misses *three* times, his name is erased from the list, and the ticket is forthwith refused to him.

long to make a stand on the line which separates the mass from the nobility. But that barrier once passed, who can for a moment pretend that all others will not shortly give way? Monsieur Thomas and Monsieur de Montmorency stand already in the same position before the state;—can Monsieur Thomas, who pays 200 frs. of direct taxes, and Monsieur Thomas who pays 100 frs. stand long in a different one?

It is to this sentiment of their force—and also to the presentiment of their destiny—it is to the conviction (forced on them from the tribune. and the stage, by the press and the revolution of July)—it is to the conviction that they have a power unacknowledged by the state, which power is daily becoming greater, that we may attribute those transient disorders that for the last four or five years have broken out among the working classes, now exercised against the government, now against their masters.

Few countries, indeed, are so called upon to watch over their manufacturing population as that France, which adds all the fickleness and fierceness of its own character to the frequent variations and occasional severities of commerce.

Prior to the first revolution, all disputes between the different orders in trade were confined to the corporations, which had each their own banner (forming thus—so few institutions are there without their precedent—a species of national guard), their own government, their own laws, their own hierarchy—an hierarchy which repressed industry, but regulated its movements, and infused the conservative spirit of an aristocracy into the breast of the artisan and the mechanic.

The revolution which visited the château did not spare the workshop—those bodies, the constitution of which it might have been wiser to alter and modify, were at once destroyed. None could any longer say that their talents were unacknowledged and repressed by the society they belonged to; but none could any longer say that they belonged to a society which had a right to redress their grievances and relieve their wants.

These old associations—condemn them as we may—gave to every class and to every age an assigned and an expected place. The lad on quitting his parents found a family in the profession into which he entered—a family which profited by his labour, and provided for him when he was incapable of finding employ-

ment. The master and the workmen then united together to support their trade, instead of struggling, as now, to divide its profits. Industry was confined within certain channels, and order given peculiar securities.

The abrupt abolition of a vast assemblage of old laws, some of which must, even from their long continuance, have created necessities—was followed shortly afterwards by a succession of new laws, having for their object the restoration of that discipline which had been too suddenly disarranged.

The decree of 22 Germinal, an XI (12 April, 1803), and of 9 Frimaire (1 December, 1803), established the livret—a certificate which every workman, under the penalty of being treated as a vagabond, is obliged to have. (1) On this certificate is written his age, the place of his birth, and the name of the person whom he last served, or to whom he was apprenticed.

Here too the money he receives, the debts he incurs, the agreements he enters into, the character he has deserved, are all recorded. (2) On quitting one master, he presents it to the other, whose service he is about to enter:—the manufacturer knows the antecedents of the man he employs, the police of the man who travels, *soi-disant*, in search of employment. In this manner the surveillance of the old corporations has been in some degree restored; so also, in some respect, have been their tribunals.

Formerly the mayors, or *échevins des villes*, sometimes the syndics, used to decide upon the disputes between workmen and their masters. Such disputes are now decided by the *conseils des prud'hommes*, first formed 18th March 1806. These judges, composed in a fair proportion of manufacturers, *chefs d'ateliers*, and workmen, form a popular court, of which it is difficult to over-estimate the utility.

At Lyons in 1828, out of 3,562 cases, all, except 22, were terminated at once, without expense, to the satisfaction of both parties; and the jurisdiction of these councils, the best proof of

(1) The livret has been extended to soldiers and servants in large towns.

(2) On entering any service, the master writes the date on the livret; it must be visited by the police within twenty-four hours.

their advantage, has been extended from affairs of 60 to affairs of 100 francs.

Owing, as many believe, to such regulations, there were not in France, until within a very few years, any of those disputes between the manufacturer and his workmen, against which we have abandoned all hopes of legislating.(1)

In a report of the committee appointed in 1819 to inquire into the exposition and the state of manufactures, I find it especially asserted—"que la France a le bonheur de n'être point affligée par ces dissentions qui, dans d'autres contrées, divisent la classe ouvrière et les manufacturiers qui la font travailler."

And if the artisan be less satisfied now, it is not because the events that have since occurred have lowered his fortunes, but because those events have increased his expectations, and given him the idea that his situation is to be raised by a greater share of power from the government, and a greater share of profit from the capitalist.

The same cause is at the bottom of the associations which are for procuring the "rights of man," and the heightening o wages—an equality first founded on theories, and now dail establishing itself in practice.

( ) Any violent attempt at raising wages subjects the participator to one, two, or three months' imprisonment, the promoter to three, four, or five years' imprisonment.

EQUALITY.

CHAPTER VII.

Equality to be discovered in the preceding Chapters—King of England first gentleman in his kingdom—King of the French first citizen—The effect of the law does in France what the law did by compulsion in Florence—Social advantages of equality—Political results uncertain—Struggle between opinions and manners, between local government and centralization.

WHAT have we seen in France? A popular literature that acknowledges no privileged order of critics; a cheap press that addresses itself to all classes of readers; a church establishment that embraces all sects of religion; strange philosophies founded on the association of all capacities; a soil partitioned amongst all ranks of persons; an upper class, whose exclusive pretensions are treated with ridicule; a middle class possessing great political authority; a working class almost independent, and demanding an increase of riches and power.— And are not these things the sign of that fact which I take as a title to this chapter?

"The King of England," said M. Odilon Barrot, "is the first gentleman in his kingdom;—the King of the French is the first citizen." The one is the chief of a long aristocratic hierarchy, the other the ruler over a people who recognize no other than personal distinctions.

The principle of equality, as understood and as existing in France, is this—A man *may* be everything, but he has *no right* to be any thing; he may be every thing *by ability*, he has no right to be any thing *by privilege*.

What is the question you ask of any one in England?—*is he gentlemanlike?*

What is the question you ask of any one in France?—*A-t-il de l'esprit?*

In these two questions lie the genius of two nations, which I do not compare, but contrast.

In one, the nobility descends into the arena where power is acquired by talent.

In the other, talent, as the consequence of its power, mounts into the nobility.

Does any one want to know what is republican in the institutions of the French?

That which the law did by compulsion in the republican days of republican Florence, is the simple effect of the law in the intelligent days of monarchical France.

The Capponis were enrolled on the books of the plebeians, and the Fitz-Jameses have descended in to the Chamber of Deputies.

"Tous les hommes naissent égaux et libres; aucun d'eux n'a plus de droit que les autres de faire usage de ses facultés naturelles ou acquises; ce droit commun à tous n'a d'autre limite que la conscience même de celui qui l'exerce, laquelle lui interdit d'en faire usage au détriment de ses semblables."

These were the words of Mirabeau, in proposing that famous declaration "of the Rights of Man," with which the discussions of the National Assembly opened, and which the existing government has ultimately adopted.

For the pleasures of society, and by society I mean every relation of social intercourse, there is certainly no comparison between the effects of those feelings which, in France, bring to the same table every variety of character and station, and the effects of those opposite feelings which, in England, draw a barrier as fearful as the Rubicon between Mr. Roberts and Mr. Rogers, who are both wholesale or retail dealers in mutton suet.

There is a fretfulness about every man's position with us, which is positively frightful. He is never easy, for there is always some little line of demarcation between himself and his neighbour, which he toils to pass over. The aristocracy descends through every link, from the golden to the copper of the country. The Duke of Devonshire is not more exclusive than the Duke's poulterer. Society is a long series of little uprising ridges, which, from the first to the last, offer no valley of repose, Wherever you take your stand, you are looked down upon by those above you, and reviled and pelted by those below you.

Every creature you see is a farthing Sisyphus, pushing his little stone up some Liliputian molecule. This is our world!

The social advantages, then, that result from equality, are great; the political consequences that may arise from it are more uncertain.

For there is this to be said of the French: a marked difference exists between the ideas and the habits of that people.

The ideas date from the revolution of 1789, the habits develope a longer history.

The ideas prevent the grand seigneur from assuming a superiority over the stockbroker. The habits have carried down to the stockbroker all the luxuries and some of the airs of the Grand Seigneur.

Who has the best box and the prettiest dancers at the opera? Who has the best horses at the race course? Who is "the fashionable," the *petit marquis* of the epoch?

That young "agent-de-change," whose outspread coat-skirts obscure the fire at the club in the Rue de Grammont, dressed with a simple pretension, and talking, with a doctrinal air, of the merits of lobster soup and ministerial stability.

The Hôtel de Montmorency has not been destroyed, but let out in apartments, and you see the traces of the ancient régime in modern society, as you find on modern furniture those curious and beautiful old damasks which decorated our grandfathers' apartments.

The struggle then is, and has been since the directorship of Barras, between new opinions and old manners.

Equality is in itself neither republican, as some people believe, nor anti-republican as others suppose. It is republican among the poor, anti-republican among the rich; the first it makes jealous of power,—the second it makes anxious for place.

The opinions that agitate one body would establish a democracy—the desires that prevail among the other would re-establish a court. What reigns is a system of compromise. There is no hereditary House of Lords, and there is a very unpopular law of election. The lower classes are excluded from the government because the middle have not left an upper. Nor is this all; where there is no aristocracy to ease the government of part of its affairs, there must either be an active and intelligent democracy ruling in every village, or a powerful adminis-

tration concentrated in the executive authority. As the government at one time stripped the people of power, so the people have lately been acquiring some rights from the government. But still there is a conflict here—not, as with us, between the middle orders, who begin to proclaim equality, and the upper who would maintain privileges; but between the community who demand greater local authority, and the minister who contends for preserving centralization.

BOOK VI.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

"The very best administration must encounter a great deal of opposition, and the worst will find more support than it deserves."—*Thoughts on French Revolution*—BURKE.

CENTRALIZATION.

CHAPTER VIII.

La révolution a désossé la France—Idea of the Convention—of Bonaparte—Circumstances of France and England in respect to centralization—Late changes in system in France—Existing administration.

EVERY thing in France is small; France itself is great.

Individual existence in this country is insignificant; for where there are no prejudices of birth, no great fortunes, no established and fixed positions, as it were, one man is the centre of but a small circle of considerations. Nor are there any bodies, so formed and organized, as to interpose between the great masses of the community and the executive power of the state. The first revolution, to use an expression attributed to M. de Talleyrand, *unboned France*. The great corporations, to which I have alluded, and so also the ancient provincial divisions and administrations, every institution, in short, which, having local power, placed any check upon, or created any barrier against, central power, was swept away.

All that law could alter—habits and manners are not within its immediate jurisdiction—it did destroy and alter in a moment. Nor was the terrible Triumvirate, over whose doors were written—"liberty, indivisibility, and death," without a great idea,

an idea always difficult to realize; difficult then, but pressed upon their attention by foreign war, domestic discord, and that turbulent and sanguinary spirit which it was at once their object to nourish and controul. "Liberty to all, tyranny over all," was in fact their motto— words not so incompatible as we may suppose; for they simply determine that in proportion to the check which the people have on the government, should be the power which the government has over the people.

What the men of those times wished, was to make the authority which they said should represent the masses, strong; the citizens over whom that authority extended, equal.

An enemy's bayonets gleamed on their frontier, a hostile aristocracy lurked in their capital, jealous rivalries agitated their provinces. To drive back that enemy, to put down that aristocracy, to tranquillize those jealousies, one thing was wanted —a system of centralization. Who shall blame them for adopting it?

Bonaparte arrived with a genius just proper to consolidate and regulate what his predecessors in the revolution had conceived; but into their plans he carried a new idea.

He looked at things with the eye of a great captain.

He saw less perhaps the necessity of making the nation over which he was to rule powerful, than that of giving a quick and rapid impulsion to its power. What he wished was to have a government that vibrated at his touch, whose whole force he was able to combine instantaneously, and to drive in one direction. Hence the civil and military system of the empire, intended to unite so many radii round a common centre, by the action of which they were all to be imperatively controlled. (1)

There have been various doctrines propounded, of late years, amongst ourselves, as to the excellencies or evils of that system of unity under which French affairs are administered, and many have considered that we have something to learn in this respect,

(1) The principle of centralization, though established on very different grounds, pervades, to a certain extent, our own government, though this fact is generally overlooked. A committee of the House of Commons is but a bad tribunal to decide upon the propriety of provincial improvement. Here, however, the supreme authority is the popular assembly; in France it is the executive power.

from our neighbours, while others have thought that they had rather much to imitate and adopt from us. In any consideration we give this subject, let us carefully separate the circumstances of the two countries to which we would apply the same principles.

I have already spoken of the differences naturally created by a great landed gentry, who, from their property and station, take the place of the government, as it were, and are frequently able to discharge its duties; besides, heavy hands have weighed on England. The dominion of the Tudors coming at a time when, enfeebled by her civil dissensions, she was plastic to every impression, destroyed many of the differences then remaining of her ancient divisions. And now, the multiplication of roads, of canals, the facility and the expedition of conveyances, have so mingled and mixed up the various provinces together, that a slight accent is all that continues to distinguish their inhabitants one from another. England, moreover, defended by her insular position and her maritime superiority, has no occasion, in the administration of her civil government, to consider what may be required as a security from foreign aggression. France, on the contrary, is a continental empire, more likely than any other, from its situation, and the character of its inhabitants, to be called to arms, and demanding, therefore, even in the administration which is to govern it in peace, an attention to the administration which might be required in the event of war; moreover, it is impossible for the most casual observer who visits them not to be struck by the motley character of those various races now collected under one sway, and held together by the Northern Ocean, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Rhine. The Briton speaks of France and the French as distinguished from himself, and tells you that a Frenchman has bought this château, or lives at that place. In a great part of France, French is not the language spoken by the people; the west, since the revolution of 1830, may be looked upon as a hostile and subdued country. Ruled by its priests and its women, served by its chivalric nobility and its martial peasantry, superstitious, adventurous, determined, difficult to be subdued, —the institutions which made it independent would render it hostile and dangerous. To keep the fanatic south, the irreligious north, the republican east, and the royalist west, together

and quiet, no doubt a strong government, quick in its action and determined in its purpose, is necessary, and no wise Frenchman would desire a perfection in the laws of a country that would tend to the disorganisation and dissolution of the state.

Looking, then, at the equality among the French people, which prevents the local government of an aristocracy—at the position and divisions of France, which render dangerous the uncontrolled local government of a democracy—centralization, if an evil, is almost an evil of necessity, and cannot be abandoned, though, perhaps, it may yet be capable of further modification. Already, as I have said, many changes have taken place since the destruction of the empire, and, more especially, since the revolution of July, and over these changes a spirit of wisdom and moderation has prevailed. To maintain the unity of the state, to stimulate the energies of the provinces, and to set bounds to the authority of the executive government, seem to be the triple object under which these alterations ought to have been undertaken, and have been accomplished.

Here the general councils have been made elective, the judges immoveable. There, the formation of a local force, on popular principles, has placed a check upon the unlimited power of the regular soldiery.

But, as the best key to this subject, I will give a rapid sketch of the civil and military administration of the country.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER IX.

Minister of Finance and system of Taxation—Minister of Justice and Judicia system—Minister of Police, and the origin, effect, and attributes of that office—Minister of Commerce, Commercing Chambers, etc.—Minister of Instruction, system of education, etc.—Minister of the Interior, and departmental and government divisions.

FINANCE.

In the Minister of Finance centres the administration of the public revenue, the national debt, and the mint.

He superintends the assessment and collection of taxes, direct and indirect; and, as the centre to whom all the other ministries address their accounts, seems the most proper to mention first.

It is after having received the estimates of the different administrations, that this minister determines how much will be requisite for the service of the coming year, and proposes in advance a budget accordingly.

The budget of the state fixed, the object is to secure its payment: and in order to understand how this is done, it is necessary to know from what sources the public revenue proceeds.

The most important of these are the direct and indirect taxes. The direct taxes are:

1. The house and land tax, in proportion to the clear annual income.

2. The poll tax, extending to all but the very poor, and amounting to the value of three days' labour.

3. The door and window tax.

4. The licences to trade. (1)

From the nature of these taxes it is necessary, first, to provide for their distribution, and, secondly, for their perception.

In respect to the distribution, the minister proposes to the chamber in his budget the contingent of each department for land tax, poll tax, and window tax. The councils of the departments fix the proportion to be paid by their arrondissements, and the councils of the arrondissements the proportion to be paid by their communes. (2)

A list of tax-payers is drawn up every three years, stating the names of each individual, and the nature and the amount of the taxes to which he is liable.

This list, annually supervised, is signed by the prefect every year, on or before the 12th of January, and then becomes available. The direct taxes are made payable by twelfths, and the tax-payer can be called upon the first of every month for the taxes of the months previous. (3)

Such taxes are collected by collectors named in every department by the minister of finance, out of a list presented by the prefect, (4) and every tenth day, in large towns at shorter periods, they must pay the sums levied to authorities appointed for that purpose. These authorities are stationed in every arrondissement, under the title of receivers of arrondissement, and are all subordinate to the receiver-general of the department, who is responsible for their integrity. (5)

The indirect taxes are :

1. On drink (i. e. wine, beer, and spirituous liquors).

(1) The licences must be paid for when issued, except in some particular cases.

(2) The prefect fixes the house tax in the departments, and the subprefect in the arrondissements.

(3) Those who have not paid their twelfth on the first of the month are liable to proceedings, which consist—1. Of a notice.—2. Summons.—3. Seizures.—4. Sale.

(4) They must, however, be consented to by the receivers, who are responsible for them.

(5) A commune which has a revenue of 20,000frs. has a receiver also.

2. Produce of the sale of the monopolies of gunpowder and tobacco. (1)

3. Tenth of all the commercial octrois.

4. Miscellaneous.

Public carriages

Cards.

Salt at the pits, and in the country.

On stamps guaranteeing the quality of articles fabricated in gold and silver.

On passage of bridges, etc.

5. Registration stamps.(2)

6. Post and lottery.(3)

The machinery of receipts is the same as for the direct taxes.

Directors of direct and indirect taxes are appointed to superintend the method of perception, and functionaries called "inspectors general," who, travelling over the country, may take any district by surprise, keep a watchful and constant control over the accounts.

But the finance ministry is not only charged with the collection of the public revenue, it is also charged with the payment of the public expenses. The machinery it employs is therefore of a double nature.

By the side of the "receiver general" of the department, there is a paymaster for the department also. The receivers are in fact the government *bankers*, and the paymasters the government *agents*.

The receiver-general, for instance, has so much in hand, on account of the treasury in his department. The treasury issues a mandate, or draws a draft, in favour of the paymaster, to be applied to a particular use; the paymaster receives the money and executes the commission.

But as the speedy transition of the funds, from the public

(1) The persons allowed to sell these articles take them from the government at a certain price, and are allowed, as their remuneration, to sell them at another.

(2) The rest of the receipts is composed of the revenues of public lands, of falls of timber, produce of the contract from gaming-houses, profits from coinage, etc.

(3) Lottery is now abolished.

debtor to the public creditor, is the great object of the government, a board is established, called the "bureau de fonds," for this special purpose. Every ten days the accounts of the receivers-general are sent to this board, which thus knowing the funds that the state has to dispose of, in each part of the country, transmits a daily account thereof to the ministry, according to which the public payments are regulated. (1)

The different state establishments in each of the eighty-six departments, therefore, whether military, clerical, or judicial, are defrayed, as far as possible, by the receipts of that part of the country in which they are situated. (2)

The speedy collection, secure deposit, and rapid payment of the public money, being thus provided for, the only remaining thing to desire is the clearness and correctness of the accounts through which these different movements of cash are to be traced.

The system of accounts in France, to which our attention was first called by Sir H. Parnell, has since that time considerably occupied the attention of parliament; and Dr. Bowring, commissioned for that purpose, has published reports that might be more clear and less voluminous perhaps, but which are still highly interesting and creditable to their author.

The merit of the French accounts is in their system; a system which comprises the utmost detail on the one hand, and the utmost centralisation on the other.

To effect this—the first thing necessary is that all accounts, based on a recapitulation of the most minute particulars, should be kept by all parties in certain similar and specified forms, and ultimately brought under one well-devised central.

The persons who receive for the receivers, the receivers, and the receivers-general themselves, must all then maintain a general journal and ledger, in which every transaction is first entered, as it takes place, and afterwards copied out in an organized shape under leading heads. The copies of these journals and ledgers, together with the statement for which they furnish the

(1) The minister, therefore, can see at a glance what funds are disposable in every part of the empire.

(2) But, as this cannot always take place, a transfer of revenue is sometimes necessary; and this transfer is calculated to cost annually 2,900,000frs.

materials, are transmitted at short intervals to the ministry of finance, as are the receipts and vouchers of the paymasters. In that office they are entered, and centralised in the books of the cashier-general, who is at the head of the receivers-general, and in the books of the paymaster-general, who is at the head of the paymasters.

Thus, every fact, whether of receipt or payment, is a matter of daily record and of arranged report to the central financial authorities; while the cashier's and general paymaster's accounts are again centralised by being brought before a board, called the "comptabilité générale!" which compares every statement and looks into every account.

The "Cour des Comptes," (1) as a judicial board, acts finally as a check upon the "comptabilité générale," which is purely a financial board; and as the one sees whether the different transactions are rightly stated, so the other determines whether they formally and legally took place.

(1) This court is composed of a first president and of three presidents of chambers, of eighteen master councillors, and eighty referee councillors, of a king's advocate and a chief clerk; and was first organised during the empire, in September 1807.

For its ordinary business, the court is divided into three chambers, each composed of a president and six master councillors.

The first, or chief president, presides over the chambers united, or, when he pleases, over any particular chamber. He distributes the accounts to the referees, and indicates the chamber to which they are to make their report. He has, in short, the general control of his court and the three chambers. In his absence his place is supplied by the senior president of the other chambers.

The presidents have the direction of the business of their respective chambers; and distribute to the master councillors who form them the affairs or the accounts of which they are to report.

The referee councillors are charged with the verification of the accounts submitted to them, and may be said to fulfil the duty of auditors as well as accountants.

The king's advocate takes care that the public officers and receivers transmit their accounts within the period prescribed by law. He also sees that the chambers hold their sittings regularly, and that the referees do their duty. It is to him that the prefects address the public

It is after this various superintendence that the public accounts come back at last, collected, into the hands of the minister, by whom they were originally proposed, and who is charged with their defence.

It is impossible, in so short a space, to do more than give this general, outline (1) which will, however, suffice to show the main parts of that machinery by which the cash concerns of a mighty state are conducted with a precision and regularity that is rare in the affairs of a private commercial establishment.

It now only remains to notice the local expenses.

These are in part defrayed by a portion of a general tax, proposed by the minister in his budget, and called centimes additionnels, (2) a certain amount of which, set apart for such charges, is paid by the receivers to the paymasters who defray them. What remains is met by the budgets of the departments, of the towns of chef-lieu, and of the communes.

The budgets of the departments have for receipts the centimes additionnels, which they vote as supplementary to those I have already mentioned, as voted for their use by the chambers.

Their expenses are those of the prefecture, central houses of detention, royal departmental roads, etc.

The towns of chef-lieu have the same species of receipt and expense as the communes, and it is to the budget of the latter that we ought especially to look for local expenses.

These budgets, which must be approved by the sub-prefect, if the commune has only 100 francs ordinary revenue; by the prefect, if from 100 to 100,000 francs; and by a royal ordinance, if above that sum, are all transmitted to the minister of finance.

accounts of their departments when there are any disputes concerning them. The correspondence with the ministers, for the execution of the decrees or orders of the court, is also entrusted to him.

The chief clerk receives the accounts and vouchers from the public officers, and has the charge of all papers.

(1) I have endeavoured to disembarrass this statement, as much as possible, from all minor details.

(2) The centimes additionnels consist of 36 cents. on the land tax; 36 on the personal and furniture tax; 16 on the house and windows; 4 on the patents.

who has thus before him the whole expenses, local as well as general, of the kingdom.

The revenues of the communes are ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary revenues are : five additional centimes on each individual, claims on licences, fines for various misdemeanours, fines for non-service in the national guard, funds, customs, right of location in halles, fairs, markets, ports, walks, etc., fees for administration acts, income from woods, contributions to the service of the highways.

The extraordinary revenues are : credit balance of last account, interest of funds invested in the treasury, sale of moveables, immoveables, or funds, legacies and donations, price of extraordinary cutting of forests, rates to supply deficiency of ordinary revenues, loans and accidental receipts.

The disbursements of a commune are also ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary disbursements are expenses of local administration receivers, collectors, payers, etc. expenses of communal property, national guard and barracks, poor-laws, public instruction, religion, public festivals, and unforeseen expenses. The extraordinary disbursements are unusual expenses of administration, purchase of property, heavy repairs, etc., extraordinary expenses of national guards, extraordinary expenses of public establishments, public instruction or religion, payment of arrears, law expenses, accidental expenses, etc.

The hospitals and bureaux de bienfaisance, as far as they have funds of their own, form a separate budget.

The whole receipts and expenses, 1852, were as follows :—

	RECEIPTS.	EXPENSES.
General budget, in which are included the centimes additional, voted by the departments.	frs. 1,064,031,269	frs. 1,166,618,270
Budget of communes.	161,786,000	147,574,775
Towns of chef-lieu.	69,362,870	68,132,000
Hospitals and houses of reception, either from gifts, legacies, or the like, and produce of the work of persons employed.	51,222,063	48,842,097
Bureaux de bienfaisance (1) do. . .	10,315,746	8,956,036
Total	1,356,717,948	1,380,123,178

(1) Bureaux of charity.

JUSTICE.

To the Minister of Justice is intrusted the organisation and surveillance of the whole judiciary system. (1)

The judicial system in France, much calumniated because little understood, is certainly not so defective as we are apt to consider it, and contains a mixture of diffused and centralised power well worthy of attention.

There is the authority that pursues and the authority that judges : we will consider each. The authority that pursues is called " the public ministry" (*le ministère public*), and is a great social power charged with the preservation of order and tranquillity, and the punishment of those by whom the laws, in respect to these blessings, are infringed.

This power is, in fact, a personification of the community it protects. An individual is injured—the public ministry pursues the criminal, not for the sake of the individual, but for the sake of the public of which he forms a part; and the prosecution of course takes place at the public expense. (2)

(1) The transmittal of all orders and instructions to the royal courts, and other tribunals for the execution of the laws and regulations promulgated.

For instance, the correspondence with the advocates-general and advocates of the king on all matters committed to the surveillance of the minister.

The duty of reporting to the king on matters of legislation, on the administration of justice, on the conflicts between the civil and judicial authorities, regarding naturalization, marriage, change of name, etc., as well as on matters regarding pardons, commutations of punishments, etc.

The decisions of the courts royal, which pronounce or confirm the censure or reprimand of a magistrate, cannot be put in execution unless they have been approved by the keeper of the seals, who has the power to order into his presence the members of the courts and tribunals, as well as of their officers, to explain all the charges which may be imputed to them.

The measures of discipline and regulation adopted by the courts and tribunals must also be submitted for his approbation, and without it can have no effect.

(2) There may, however, be two parts of the same case, one public

The public ministry, though one in its object, is composed of a variety of separate and divergent authorities. The principal of these are the procureurs-généraux and the procureurs-du-roi.

There are in France twenty-seven courts royal, and three hundred and sixty-five tribunals of the first instance : at the chef-lieu (1) of each of these courts royal there is a procureur-général, and at the chef-lieu of each department, a procureur-du-roi.

All the procureurs-du-roi within the jurisdiction of a court royal are under the control of the procureur-général, follow his directions, and act in his name.

The different procureurs-généraux are altogether independent of each other, and there would be no common bond between them but for the establishment in the centre of France of a minister of justice.

This minister, however, has not in point of form the power of forcing the procureurs-généraux to act as he wishes.

Still, he has in reality this power, since he can deprive them of their office if they act contrary to his wishes.

So far the whole machinery of the prosecution is calculated for energy and force, and might be terrible as an instrument of despotism, if not placed under some efficient control.

This control over the power that pursues exists in the power that judges.

The first is centralized round the executive authority, the second has a dispersed and independent existence.

The procureur-du-roi, who looks up to the procureur-général, the procureur-général, who looks up to the minister of justice, may be considered one and the same person. But the procureur-du-roi, removable at pleasure, can only bring the culprit before a magistrate who is immovable, who has no orders to receive, either from the procureur-du-roi, or from the procureur-

and one private. For instance, an individual has been robbed of 200*l.* —the public ministry prosecutes the robber for the crime—the person robbed prosecutes him to recover the money. Here the ministry has nothing to do with the money—the person robbed nothing to do with the crime.

(1) Capital.

général, or from the minister of justice, and this humble and simple magistrate can at once disarm all the well-organised and terrible force of the public ministry.

The judicial powers are thus arranged: as every arrondissement has a procureur-du-roi, so every arrondissement has one juge d'instruction (1) and two assistant judges.

In the same manner, as every division has a procureur-général, it has also a court royal, and in proportion to the facility and the power given to the executive authority for prosecuting the culprit, is the difficulty laid in the way of his being rashly and improperly condemned. The course of procedure is as follows: John Niles infringes the law—a police agent, or the party aggrieved, applies to a commissary of police, a chief of gendarmerie, a mayor, or a justice (2) of peace, or, it may be, to the procureur-du-roi.

The procureur sends a minute of what has been stated to the juge d'instruction; a summons to appear, or an order to be brought before the bench is issued against the accused. Here the juge d'instruction questions, examines, releases or commits him; (3) for without a warrant no citizen can be confined more than twenty-four hours. When the juge d'instruction considers there is good ground for a prosecution, he endeavours to find clear proofs of the supposed crime, and this stage of the proceedings is peculiarly liable to abuse. The juge d'instruction, with the natural bias of a lawyer, is too apt to feel a pride in placing the prisoner's guilt in the clearest light before the tribunal by which he is to be tried. He is, therefore, far more anxious to find precise proofs of the culpability of the accused than fearful to deprive him of liberty if he should be innocent.

When at last, however, he thinks his case as clear as it can be made, the prisoner is brought before the chamber of council —i. e. before three judges, of whom the juge d'instruction of the arrondissement is one. This court decides whether there is ground for proceeding with the cause or not. If the three

(1) The number varies according to the importance of the place, and the business there is to do; but there must be three at least.

(2) The mayor is only where there is no commissaire of police.

(3) The great fault of this proceeding is that it is private.

judges decide in the negative, the prisoner is released; but he may perhaps have previously endured eight or nine months' imprisonment without guilt. There is, however, a check on this abuse. Every month the juge d'instruction is obliged to state to his two assistants why he does not try the prisoners, and they can either admit or overrule his reason. Sometimes this is a mere form, since the three judges may be very good friends, and confide in each other. But if a prisoner is urgent for a quick trial, and the public show interest in the matter, the judges apply to the case, and there is seldom avoidable delay. This part of the criminal law, however, requires reform—abuses may, and do, arise.

The accused has thus had two opportunities of being released: one by the juge d'instruction, at his first examination, the other by the chamber of council. He has one more. The chamber of accusation, composed of so many members of the cour royale, an independent, immovable court, (1) may still declare that there is no cause for proceeding to judgment. But should the three courts concur in finding the prisoner guilty, he is then tried at the assizes. A member of the cour royale presides. A jury of thirty-six persons is chosen by ballot, from tax-payers to the amount of 200 francs, to which physicians, barristers, etc. have a right, on account of their profession merely, to belong. Before trial the prisoner and the public accuser each strike off nine. The president is assisted by two fellow members of the cour royale, who weigh with him the due punishment of the offender, and any mistakes that may have arisen in the procedure. The procureur-général opens the trial, states the grounds of prosecution, names the witnesses, etc. The avocat-général then appeals to the jury to do justice to the outraged community. After which the president interrogates the prisoner—too often (2)

(1) A cour royale must be composed of at least twenty-four councillors, and is divided into different chambers—one at least for civil causes, as I shall mention presently, one of correctional police, and one chamber of accusation.

(2) The interrogation of the prisoner too often produces an unjust or a ridiculous effect. If the president is an able man, and the accused not so, the latter is too often self-convicted at the very outset of the trial; and if on the contrary, as sometimes is the case in political trials,

with an evident desire to entrap and convict him. Questions so put justify the insolence of the accused, who sometimes answers impatiently and disrespectfully; thus taking from justice much of the awe which, when gravely and impartially administered, it must inspire.

The president next examines the witnesses. The prisoner and his council have the great advantage of cross-examining them, of rebutting or explaining the facts which they depose; and, consequently, of dissipating every unfavourable impression at the very moment it arises; but this advantage is more than counterbalanced by the supposition on which the whole trial proceeds, viz: that the prisoner is guilty until he is found innocent—and not, as with us, innocent until he has been proved guilty. After the witnesses have given their evidence, the avocat-général sums up the facts against the accused, and endeavours to convince the reason and influence the passions of the jury. The prisoner's council then rises, and places his view of the evidence before them. The prisoner himself may now speak in his own defence, and is always allowed to speak last. The president should next sum up, with an impartiality more desirable than common, the facts of the case. The jury then declare the prisoner guilty or not guilty. This is the extent of their office. The court determines the punishment according to law on the demand of the avocat-général.

I may mention that, if the prisoner cannot pay a pleader, the president is obliged to appoint one,—who receives 10 francs if his client is condemned, and something more if he is acquitted. (1)

the prisoner has more ability than his interrogator, he perplexes, confounds, crushes, degrades him, and robs of all dignity the prosecution by which society vindicates its rights.

It would surely be more just, more reasonable, to hear the evidence against the prisoner, and let him rebut it as well as he could, and omit the interrogations altogether. Girod de l'Ain never questions the accused.

(1) It is a very common practice with the council thus assigned to give their fee to the poor client. This is a slight instance of good feeling among the French avocats, who are often men of great moral courage and worth.

Should the president assign the first pleader in the court, common usage admits no demur. (1)

Those infringements of the law which come under the term *délits* (or "offences") in the French code—I have been speaking of crimes—are punished in a different and more summary way, the court of arrondissement in which they occurred deciding upon them at once, but subject to an appeal to the cour royale;—a justice of peace or a tribunal of police can punish petty offences.(2)

The courts which serve for the criminal are also used for the civil law. The justice of peace decides questions of trifling amount; the court of sessions, consisting of the juge d'instruction and his two colleagues, decides finally all cases under 1000 francs, to check the spirit of litigation that would prolong trials of little consequence. The court royal, a court of appeal, to which may be carried all cases of more than 1000 francs, is final. But the minister of justice may object to any decision that seems to him inconsistent with the written statute law.

Formerly the parliaments were independent of each other; each decided according to its own precedents and views. Their decisions therefore not unfrequently clashed; the law in different provinces was not the same. To remedy this abuse, the King, from time to time, declared in council that such and such a constitution of the law was the only true one. Of course this threw the law into the hands of the King and council.

To secure the advantages without the defects of this system, was the origin of the court of cassation. If a decision in any civil or criminal case appears to the minister of justice contrary to law, he complains of it to the court of cassation. If this court declares that the cour royale has decided illegally, the whole case

(1) This never occurs in Paris, where the young pleaders gladly exercise their eloquence for the poor; but it does happen, not unfrequently, in the departments.

The length of the trial, and the support of witnesses, make criminal proceedings very expensive in France. It would seem just for the public to pay the expense of the innocent.

(2) *Délits* (or "offences") of the press are an exception; these are tried by a jury, or by the new law, if liable to be called *attentats* (treason), by the chamber of peers.

is referred to another tribunal. If the jury in a criminal, or the court in a civil, cause decide contrary to the opinion of the court of cassation, that court assembles all its members, and reconsiders the case. Its first decision might be formed by half. If the full court of cassation confirms the first decree, the cause is carried before another court, and if this court decides as the two others, the cause is finished; but the minister is bound to lay before the chamber in the next session a law to clear up the doubtful point. In civil cases the aggrieved individual prefers his complaint against the aggressor, except in the case of minors, idiots, persons absent, etc.; for then the minister of justice is bound to speak in favour of the plaintiff after his advocate has spoken. In all other cases, the avocat-général has a right, if he pleases, to state his opinion to the court; he frequently uses this privilege, but is not obliged to do so.(1)

Commerce has its separate tribunals, which, however, are still under the ministry and surveillance of the minister of justice. These tribunals exist in those arrondissements that require them.(2)

They are composed of a presiding judge, of judges and supernumerary judges, all chosen among the merchants the most respectable, and named at a meeting of merchants. The King ratifies the nomination.

The presiding judge must be forty years of age, and is chosen from the most ancient judges. The other judges must be thirty years of age, and have been engaged in commerce at least five years.

The president and the judges remain but two years in office, and can only be re-elected after the interval of a year.

(1) There is also at Paris a court, consisting of a juge d'instruction and assistant, for the dispatch of affairs. It sits constantly in the Palace of Justice, and decides whether or no the person summoned before it ought to be committed or not. The case is then referred to another juge d'instruction.

I may observe that the prefect of police, an office existing only in Paris, has a right of search in private dwellings, and can put any one under confinement for twenty-four hours. He cannot, however, imprison any one for a longer time without the authority of a juge d'instruction.

(2) In those arrondissements where there are no tribunals of commerce, the civil tribunals are applied to instead.

Their functions are honorary. (1)

Advocates are not allowed to plead before this tribunal, but any other person can plead if authorised. Custom has allowed certain persons to plead who are authorised and admitted by the tribunal, under the title of *agrée*, an individual, as the name would imply, whose duty it is to bring the disputing parties to an amicable settlement or agreement.

The tribunals of commerce take cognizance of—first, all disputes relative to engagements and transactions between merchants and bankers, and between all personal disputes into which commerce enters. Secondly, all disputes between commercial agents and their principals; and thirdly, all disputes that concern bankruptcy.

The decisions of this court are final in cases not exceeding 1000 francs, (or 40*l*.) and in other mercantile cases, where the parties beforehand forego their right of appeal; otherwise the appeals from the tribunal of commerce are carried to the court royal of their districts.

Such is the French judicial system, liable to abuses, as all institutions are, and more essentially subject to those abuses which are not abuses of the law, but against the law, resulting from the mind and manners of the people by whom and for whom it is exercised.

These are principally the detention of criminals on inadequate proofs (though the frequency of this is rather exaggerated), and the bias too frequently seen in the mind of the judge in favour of that power to which he owes his authority.

A great contempt for personal liberty, and a strong leaning towards the executive government, result necessarily from the history and habits of the French; and to that history and those habits the present generation must at all events be subject.

But a time, I hope, will come when a new generation educated in new ideas will put this machinery in motion with a different spirit.

The following remarks may not be without interest.

(1) A clerk and attendant officer, named by the government, are attached to each tribunal.

The expenses of justice amount to about 3,632,000 frs. (1) distributed amongst :

1. Persons brought before the correctional tribunal.	33,486	frs.
2. Brought before the Cours d'Assises. . . .	7,315	"
3. Liberated by the chambers of conseil. . . .	10,044	"
4. By the chambers of accusation.	779	"
Total.	33,624	frs.

Giving an expense of about 56 frs. 33 cents. by individual.

In 1833, the number of persons arrested and dismissed without trial by the chambers of conseil, endured a captivity of 7.910 months; by the chamber of accusation, 1,670 months.

Again, the persons judged by the correctional tribunals were condemned to 34,490 months' imprisonment.

The persons judged by the courts of assizes, 26,330 months. Total 70,420 months, i. e. 5,869 years.

From this statement, we see the number of persons dismissed without trial, and the time of their imprisonment; the number of persons brought up to trial, and the time of their condemnation; and lastly, by comparing the number of individuals in prison with the number of months of their imprisonment, and allowing an expense of about 27 frs. 10 sous (2) to each individual, and adding that to the 56 frs. 33 c. already mentioned, we shall make the sum of 56 frs. 33 c. / 27 frs. 10 c. } 89 frs. 3 c. (3) as the average cost of every person arrested.

POLICE.

As a fitting instrument of the public ministry, which pursues the crime, is the ministry of police which watches and apprehends the criminal.

(1) The charge is 3,300,000frs. ; but of this a certain sum is subject to recovery.

(2) See reports of the minister of justice and budget.

(3) This is higher than the estimate allowed, viz : 200frs. for each individual—but I add to this the presumed cost of maintaining the buildings of administration, etc.

At the head of this ministry is the minister of police, (1) who has in the department of the Seine an active agent in the prefect of police. And, indeed, as it is chiefly in Paris that the business of minister of police lies, the officer, subordinate to him in the capital, is an important personage, and almost a minister himself.

Under his inspection are placed all the prisons in the department of the Seine, all the gambling-establishments, all the houses licensed for prostitution. He sees that peace is preserved at the markets, and in places of public worship—attending in every thing to the cleanliness and good order of the city.

He can order searches in private houses, arrest, in urgent cases, and take any means he may think proper to disperse or prevent numerous and tumultuous meetings, and at once seize and commit all persons taken *en flagrant délit* (in the fact).

The officers under him, are :

Les commissaires de police. (Commissaries of police.)

Les officiers de paix. (Peace-officers.)

Les commissaires de police de la Bourse. (Commissaries of police attached to the Exchange.)

Les commissaires de la petite voirée.

Les commissaires et inspecteurs des halles et marchés. (Commissaries and inspectors of the market halls and public markets.)

Les inspecteurs des ports. (Inspectors of harbours.)

In the provinces, except under peculiar circumstances, such as that of La Vendée, the police rarely acts, save in its subordinate capacities; but in all cases the prefects of the departments execute in their respective jurisdictions the duties that would be required from a prefet de police; and the provincial agents of this ministry are placed under them.

The whole service centralizes itself in Paris in two bureaux—the one relating to the action of the police, and the other to its administration.

The duties of the minister, too, are of a double nature:

Those relating to the criminal police.

(1) The functions of minister of police are for the moment absorbed in the department of the minister of the interior; still they are to be considered as attached to a separate department.

Those relating to the political police.

As the head of the criminal police, the gendarmerie, (1) the pompiers, and that class of persons which would answer to our description of Bow Street runners, are at his orders: as the head of the political police, he directs and corresponds with an army of spies, taken from every class of society and to be encountered in almost every scene of life. The system of passports over which he presides affords to his functions, where exercised for the preservation of property, a peculiar efficiency, which though obtained at the expense of personal liberty, the citizen, long accustomed to it, is willing to purchase at that price. But his most despotic and as it is called important employment is that of watching over the safety of the state;—which is in fact prying into the conduct of every individual, who can be supposed hostile to the administration in power.

Strange to say, this practice, abominable and useless as it is, has been preserved through a long series of years, and under almost every species of government without interruption. Introduced into France by Louis XI, and resorted to by the Medici against the protestants, it was soon after systematized by Richelieu, and pursued with equal ardour by the timid and crafty character of his Italian successor.

Louis XIV, Louis XV, and even Louis XVI, continued it, and indeed one of the first demands of the National Assembly was the abolition of a bureau (2) called especially *bureau du roi*, and which was charged with the shameful duty of opening private correspondence.

The government of the Convention, though the system of espionage was never perhaps more infamously practised than by itself, disavowed the principle of that violation of social confidence, as it did indeed the principle of all its tyrannies. But the unblushing Directory avowed and justified it, and Bonaparte

(1) This force, centralized in the ministry I am describing, follows the division of other parts of the French administration; every arrondissement has its troop—every chef-lieu its colonel.

(2) A curious set of documents, found in the Bastille in 1789, were afterwards published, and, among other curious facts, it was discovered that in one year, and in Paris alone, two hundred priests had been caught *flagrante delicto*.

multiplied its dignities and duties in a manner almost ludicrous. Then came the Restoration, keeping the country in a perpetual state of alarm by plots supposed, sought after, and undiscovered: and now, the new government is almost as active as its predecessors, in the pursuit of every paltry intrigue; and yet, did all the agents of Napoleon discover the conspiracy of Mallet? Did all the agents of Monsieur de Polignac breathe a warning whisper of the revolution of July? and here again, under the government of Louis-Philippe, Don Carlos quietly traverses his kingdom, and an Italian adventurer almost succeeds in blowing up his family and his court; and even M. Thiers —the clever, active, indefatigable M. Thiers—is just as wise as the rest of the world about the matter.

INSTRUCTION.

As the system of public prosecution is conducted under the title of "ministère public," so the system of instruction, which in France is also an affair of the state, is conducted in the name of "the university"—the minister of instruction (1) being appointed the grand-master thereof.

"The university," to adopt this expression, is charged exclusively with the care of teaching; and no school of any description can be carried on without its express authorization. (2) Under the minister of instruction then, there is the "conseil royal de l'instruction publique," (3) composed of six members, whose duty it is to superintend every thing relative to the expenses required by the public establishments, as well as the books to be used and the course of education to be followed therein.

Such being the central board of administration, France is divided into divisions of instruction called "*académies*," (acade-

(1) The minister of instruction is also minister of religion; but there remains little for me to say upon that subject.

(2) In order to keep in use the regulations prescribed by the university, whether of discipline or teaching, there are two inspecteurs-généraux, who are charged with the continual examination and inspection of the different establishments for education—both in respect to the masters or pupils.

(3) The royal council of public instruction.

mies) which are situated in the chefs-lieu of the different courts royal, and every academy has a governor acting as minister of instruction in his circumscription, and assisted by a "conseil académique," (academic council,) answering to the "conseil royal," (royal council,) at Paris.

The different public establishments within each academy are classed under one of the following heads :—

1. The faculties.
2. The royal colleges. The communal colleges.
3. Institutions and schools (private establishments).
4. Primary schools (public or private).

The establishments for instruction being thus classed, instruction has also its classification.

Superior instruction. (1)

Secondary instruction.

Primary instruction.

Superior instruction consists in the faculties, divided into classes of theology, droit, medicine, science, and letters, which confer the degrees of bachelier, licencié, and docteur (bachelor, licenciate, and doctor).

The places where the faculties are taught, answer to our universities : of these there are in France 35.

Instruction secondaire (secondary instruction) consists, in philosophy, natural history, elementary mathematics, latin, greek, foreign languages, etc.

These are taught in the royal and communal colleges, which answer to our public schools; and in some of the private establishments I have mentioned. There are in France, for secondary instruction :

Royal colleges, 39.

Communal colleges, 320.

Private colleges, 2.

Private institutions, 120.

Small private schools, 1,025.

Primary instruction is divided into two branches, primary superior instruction, and primary instruction. The first con-

(1) There is also attached to the department of superior instruction eighteen secondary schools of medicine, and one establishment for the instruction of professors at Paris.

sists in reading, writing, summing, history, geography, and some notion of chemistry and surveying. The second, simply in reading, writing, and summing.

There were in 1832 fifty schools for the education of masters of primary education, and sixteen more were then about to be formed: the number of primary schools is upwards of 45,000; of which, nearly 32,000 are communal; the rest are private.

In these different establishments there are masters, about 40,000.

Scholars:

Superior instruction.	16,305
Secondary instruction	71,036
Primary instruction.	1,933,624
	2,020,965

By comparing the number of pupils with the sum expended in secondary and primary instruction (board of course not included),

Every pupil at a royal college receives his education for	162f. 65
————communal college	87f. 17
————primary school	4f. 15

The royal colleges are supported by their own funds, by a grant from the university, and by a royal donation of 601,500frs. which go to the education of scholars who distinguish themselves.

Communal colleges are supported by any funds they may possess, and by departmental and communal contributions. It is endeavoured to have one of these colleges in each arrondissement. (1)

(1) Primary instruction is paid by the communes, by the departments, and by the state. Every commune is obliged, either by itself or by uniting with another commune, to have at least one school of instruction primaire. All communes having more than 6000 inhabitants are obliged, besides, to have a school of instruction primaire supérieure; and every department is obliged, either by itself or by uniting with another department, to have a normal(*) school of primary instruction. In the

(*) A school for the education of schoolmasters.

The funds then applied to the general expenses of instruction proceed from the vote of the budget—the moneys belonging to the university, now consolidated and left at different times to former establishments, for the purposes of education—the revenues of the royal communal colleges—and the votes of the conseils-généraux (general council) of the departments, and of the conseils-municipaux (municipal council) of the communes; and these funds, most of them called for by the government, are all applied under the regulations of the government towards the attainment of the object in view. (1)

COMMERCE.

The minister of this department, whose functions have also been sometimes appended to those of the minister of the interior, had his duties fixed in 1814, and presiding over every thing connected with commerce, except its tribunals, is the centre of a variety of chambers created for the purpose of promoting commercial and manufacturing interests.

There are, for instance, in the great commercial and manufacturing towns, chambers authorized by the King, and composed of a certain number of merchants called "chambers of commerce." (2)

The duty of these chambers is to make known to the minister,

elementary schools, all the pupils that the municipal council declare incapable of paying, receive instruction gratis.

In every primary superior school, there are a certain number of places given to pupils who cannot pay, and who distinguish themselves in examination.

A committee is appointed in every commune, and in every arrondissement, to overlook and assist the instruction of their particular district. Much of this is stated in the Introduction to "France, Social, Literary and Political."

(1) Besides these establishments dependent upon the university, there is, independent, the "collége of France," of which the professors, named by the minister of instruction on a double presentation from the establishment and the Institute, are so justly celebrated.

(2) When these chambers are in the capital of a department, they are presided over by the government; otherwise, their president is the mayor of the commune.

with whom they directly correspond, their views both as to what would improve, or as to what injuriously affect, the commercial interests of the towns they belong to.

There are also chambers of a similar nature, called "chambers of arts and manufactures," which have for their object the improvement of manufactures by the experiments of art and science.

The "council general of commerce" is a more central council resident at the seat of government, composed of one person from each chamber of commerce, and of twenty persons from among the principal merchants of France. This council expresses its opinion to the minister on all questions of legislation or administration relative to the commerce of the country, and is consulted on all laws that are introduced in respect to this subject.

Paris names eight; Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes, Rouen, and Havre, two.

There is then the "conseil général des manufactures" composed of twenty members named for three years by the chambers of arts and manufactures, and of forty members named by the minister of commerce with the approbation of the King. (1) This second council holds the same situation in respect to manufactures that the council does to commerce.

The "conseil supérieur du commerce" is a small body of twenty-four persons named by the King, a sort of privy council for the minister, who can consult it in respect to the demands or views of the two other councils which are representative.

Thus the whole system, beginning with the chambers of commerce and manufactures, continues centralizing, through the councils of commerce and manufactures, and then through the conseil supérieur de commerce, until at last it arrives at the minister himself.

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

The duties of this functionary (2) resemble, in a great measure,

(1) Ten members of the council of commerce, belonging to the manufacturing town, also have the permission to enter it.

(2) The office of minister of foreign affairs can offer no details neces-

those of our secretary for the home department, and, when stripped of the accidental functions he is now invested with, his office is pretty well confined to presiding over the administration of the interior.

France, as we know, is divided into departments, which are subdivided into arrondissements, which are re-divided into cantons and communes.

There are for each department:

1. A prefect, a council of prefecture, and a council general of department.

There is for each arrondissement, except in that in which the prefect resides,

A sub-prefect, and, under the immediate orders of the prefect,

A council of arrondissement.

In each commune there is a mayor, or chief magistrate.

One or more adjuncts or deputies.

A municipal council.

I proceed to detail the various functions of these authorities, commencing with the department.

The Prefect in France, named by the King, is at the head of the administration of every department, and, in centralising the government of the province, he is one of the links in the central government of the country.

His duty is to see that the laws are obeyed. He has the power to suspend from their functions the mayors of the communes and their substitutes, and, himself dismissable at pleasure, is controlled by the minister of the interior only. (1)

sary to elucidate this subject. That of minister of public works is now also engrossed by the minister of the interior; but I have not thought it necessary to enter into details of this department, which is pretty well explained by its title, and answers to our minister of the woods and forests, with this exception, that the public roads are under his management, and that all buildings erected, even by the communes, for public purposes, must have their plans submitted to his sanction.

(1) His salary sometimes amounts to 80,000 francs. His office, therefore, is one of the most eagerly sought after, and bestowed only on persons in whom the government can implicitly confide.

The council of the prefecture, named also by the King, is the prefect's council, with whom he advises, and over whom he presides.

This body decides all disputes or difficulties between the undertakers of public works and the administration, as well as all damages due to private citizens from the erection of roads, etc. It has also the management of all national property in the department.

By the side of this assembly there is another—more popular, viz., the council general,—composed of the same number of members as there are cantons in the department, with this exception, however, that it must not contain more than thirty members.

A member of the general council is elected in each canton by an electoral assembly composed of electors and citizens who are on the jury list. If their number is under fifty, the complement is formed by calling to vote such other citizens as pay the greatest proportion of taxes. (1)

To be eligible to the council general of the department, the party must be in the enjoyment of all civil and political rights. He must be twenty-five years of age, and have paid, for a year and upwards, 200 francs (8*l.*), of direct taxes.

The King can dissolve a council general; in which case a new election must take place within three months from the date of the dissolution.

The council meets once a-year; its sittings are not public, and cannot exceed *fifteen days* in duration.

The duty of this assembly is, as I have said, to divide the direct contributions of the department among the arrondissements, and to determine the demands for reduction made by the different councils of the arrondissements, cities, burghs, and villages under its control. It also, as I have shown, regulates,

(1) In the departments, which have more than thirty cantons, the extra number is joined to others who elect their representative.

Public functionaries, salaried by the government, cannot be nominated members of the general council.

The members are nominated for nine years, and are renewed by one-third every three years.

The members are re-eligible.

within the limits allowed by law, the number of additional *centimes* of which the imposition is required for departmental expenses; receives from the prefect an account of these sums, and expresses its opinion of the state and the wants of the department, in an address to the minister of the interior.

The duties of the sub-prefect resemble those of the prefect, but are confined to his own arrondissement.

The sub-prefect receives his orders from the prefect, and is accountable to him for their performance.

In each arrondissement, over which the sub-prefect presides, there is a council composed of as many members as there are cantons in the arrondissement.

The councillors are elected in these cantons by an electoral assembly, composed in the same manner as that which elects the councils general of departments.

The qualification requires the persons so elected to be aged twenty-five years and upwards, to be in the enjoyment of all civil and political rights, and to have been paying in the department, during a year at least, 150 francs (6*l.*) of direct contributions, one-third of which must have been payable in the arrondissement wherein their domicile has been. (1)

This council assembles once a-year, at periods fixed by the King. The session cannot be more than fifteen days; being ten days before and five days after the meeting of the council-general.

The direct taxes are distributed by the arrondissement among the villages and burghs in its jurisdiction, as in the council-general; the direct taxes of the department are apportioned amongst the arrondissements. (2)

The council of the arrondissement also replies to all demands for diminution in their burthen, made by these villages and burghs.

It listens to the annual account of the sub-prefect as to the employment of the centimes additionnels for the local expenses of the department, and expresses an opinion on the wants and wishes of the arrondissement.

(1) The same disqualifications which apply to members of the council-general apply also to councillors of the arrondissement.

(2) See Finance.

In the commune there are—a mayor and two adjuncts—chosen from the municipal council, and named by the King in the chef-lieu of an arrondissement, and in all communes where the population exceeds 5,000 inhabitants.

In the other communes these officers are named by the prefect.

The appointment is for three years, and the persons nominated must be twenty-five years old, and have their domicile in the commune. (1)

Every commune has a municipal council, (the mayor and his adjuncts, are comprised.)

This council consists of ten members, where the commune has no more than 500 inhabitants.

Of twelve, where the commune contains from 500 to 1,500 inhabitants.

Of sixteen, where the commune contains from 1,500 to 2,500 inhabitants.

Of twenty-one, where the commune contains from 2,500 to 3,500 inhabitants.

Of twenty-three, where the commune contains from 3,500 to 10,000 inhabitants.

Of twenty-seven, where the commune contains from 10,000 to 30,000 inhabitants.

Of thirty-six, where the commune contains 30,000 inhabitants, and upwards.

The council municipal is chosen by the electors of the commune.

The electors of communes are the most imposed among its inhabitants in the following proportions.

(1) PERSONS DISQUALIFIED TO SERVE.

The members of the courts and tribunals of the first instance, and justices of the peace.

The ministers of any religion.

The officers of the navy or army in service.

The engineers on service.

The financial agents of the administration.

The commissaries and agents of police.

The mayor sees that public order is maintained, and the laws executed.

For communes of 1,100 souls and under, one tenth of the population. This number will increase by five for every one hundred inhabitants above 1,000 up to 5,000.

By four for every one hundred above 5,000 up to 15,000.

By three for every one hundred above 15,000

Besides the persons voting on account of their taxation, the members of courts of law, justices of peace, members of any chamber of commerce, or council of Prud'hommes; of any commission of colleges, or charitable establishments; all officers in the national guard, all members and correspondents of the Institut, all doctors of law, science, or medicine; all advocates or notaries, all ancient functionaries of state, all officers of the army or navy receiving pensions; all scholars of the polytechnic school declared, on quitting, admissible to the public service, and who have resided a year in the commune; all persons voting for the elective deputies of councils-general of the departments, whatever be their contributions in the commune —all these vote as communal electors. (1)

The council of the commune is elected for six years (the members being re-eligible), and it is renewed by one half every three years.

The King, however, can dissolve it at any time, and a re-election must then take place within three months.

It sits four times a-year, and each sitting may last for ten days.

The business of this body is to investigate the wants, and provide for the expenses of the commune, and in this, its jurisdiction is prescribed by the obligation of a definitive sanction, either from the sub-prefect or the prefect, who depend upon the central government, or from the minister of the interior himself. (2)

Thus we see a perpetual series of links—the mayor in the commune, the sub-prefect in the arrondissement, the prefect and his council in the department, all connecting the administration of the village with that of the empire; and lastly, in the

(1) The council municipal must be chosen from the list of the electors of the commune, and three-fourths must at least be domiciled within it.

(2) See Finance.

very circumstance where men may be supposed most free, viz. the expenditure of their own money, they are subject to a control, which is sometimes advantageous in preventing their extravagances and mistakes, but which can never form their judgment. (1)

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER X.

The Army—The Legion of Honour—The National Guard.

MINISTER OF WAR, ETC.

I now come to that part of the public service where centralization is most wanted, and its construction most perfect :—I mean the Army.

The minister of war in France contains within his jurisdiction the direction of every branch of the military service The armament, the recruitment, the discipline, the punishments, the movement, the victualling of the troops, all come under his inspection, and form the rays as it were that centre in his control.

In his office there is to every kind of service and species of administration its separate superintendence ; under the following terms :

1. Direction du cabinet du ministre.
2. Direction des archives or du dépôt de la guerre.
3. Direction de l'infanterie.
4. Direction de la cavalerie.
5. Direction de l'artillerie.
6. Direction du génie.
7. Direction de la justice militaire.

(1) The minister of the interior is at the head of the civil force of the country, i. e. the national guard ; but this is mentioned subsequently.

8. Direction des mouvemens de troupes et des transports et convois.

9. Direction de l'intendance militaire.

10. Direction de la comptabilité. (1)

All these boards, thus concentrated in the ministry of war, correspond with two great administrations, viz. Des divisions militaires; des intendances militaires (2)—administrations disseminated throughout the kingdom—which for this purpose is divided into sixteen jurisdictions, each of which has two sub-jurisdictions, formed ordinarily of a department.

"The military divisions," as they are called, have altogether a military character; at the head of each is a lieutenant-general, who has under him at the head of each subdivision a maréchal-de-camp. The lieutenant-general has the control and inspection of all the troops within the sphere allotted to him. Their recruiting, their exercise and instruction, their police and distribution into garrisons and detachments; cavalry, infantry, artillery, engineers (gendarmerie, even, though that force is set in motion by a separate authority), are all and equally under him, and he reports from time to time to the minister of war, the numbers, and discipline; everything, in short, relating to the force of the troops under his command.

These reports are made under their special heads, and go accordingly to the different directions allotted to them in the war office.

The chiefs of these directions make a report thereupon to the minister of war, and he sometimes decides himself, sometimes take the advice of the King, respecting them.

(1) 1. Direction of the cabinet of the minister.
2. Direction of the archives or of the depot of war.
3. Direction of the infantry.
4. Direction of the cavalry.
5. Direction of the artillery.
6. Direction of the engineers.
7. Direction of military justice.
8. Direction of the movement of troops, transports, convoys, etc.
9. Direction of the military intendance.
10. Direction of accounts.

(2) Military divisions and military intendances.

The military intendances are the civil administration of the army; and are directed by intendants and sub-intendants stationed through the country, in the same manner as the generals and maréchaux de-camps. Thus the intendant-general resides in the same town as the lieutenant-general, and the sub-intendant in the same town as the maréchal-de-camp.

There are as many intendants therefore as divisions, and as many sub-intendants as subdivisions.

The intendant, in the same manner as the lieutenant-general, communicates with all the corps stationed in his district, and with the minister of war respecting them; but his functions lie wholly in the details respecting the pay and commissariat of the army, the purchasing and accounting for all victuals, etc.

His communications on these subjects pass through the bureaux de comptabilité (boards of accounts), the financial board of the war office; and are there submitted to the minister of war himself, who usually confers upon them with the King. Thus, every thing relating to the army arrives at the minister of war by two channels; the one relating to the military, and the other to the economical part of the service.

The separate reports he thus receives, he can compare together, and in this manner pretty easily acquaint himself not only with the efficiency of the parties reporting, but also with the actual state of the army in the district referred to. The report of the general specifies the numbers of the troops in his division; the report of the intendant, the pay, provisions, and expense; one account checks the other.

But in order to have some still further check upon these officers themselves, there are appointed inspectors-general; officers of the rank of lieutenant-general or maréchal-de-camp, who are sent every year into the different divisions.

The inspector-general examines into every part, military and economic of the service, enters into the minutest details, passing seven or eight days with each regiment. There he receives every man, from the colonel to the private soldier; listens to all complaints and demands, and reports in the fullest manner on what has passed to the minister of war, who thereby sees the accuracy of the statements already made to him.

The army of France forms so interesting a part of the power

and policy of that country, that perhaps it will not be uninteresting if I go into further details respecting it.

COMPOSITION OF ARMY.

The French army is composed of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers.

The infantry is divided into infantry of the line, and light infantry. The infantry of the line consists of sixty-six regiments, each of three thousand six hundred and twenty men, in four battalions of eight hundred and sixty-two men each. A battalion has eight companies of one hundred and eight men, to each of which are attached a captain, a lieutenant, and sub-lieutenant. There is attached, besides, to each of these regiments a company called—"hors-rang" (out of the ranks)—composed of the servants of the small staff, the musicians, the master workmen, etc.

The light infantry is composed of twenty-one regiments, each of three battalions only. (1)

The cavalry is divided into the "*cavalerie de rèserve*," "*cavalerie de ligne*," and "*cavalerie légère*."(2)

The cavalry of the reserve comprises two regiments of *carabineers*, and ten of *cuirassiers*: every regiment being nine hundred and sixty men, and seven hundred and sixty-nine horses, strong. The regiment is divided into six squadrons, each squadron being commanded by a captain commandant, a second captain, two lieutenants, and two sub-lieutenants. A "chef d'escadron" has two squadrons under his command.

The *cavalry of the line* consists of twelve regiments of dragoons, and six regiments of lancers. The only difference between these regiments and the others is the circumstance that they are stronger in numbers; their effective being one thousand and fifty-six men, and eight hundred and sixty-five horses.

(1) In the epaulettes of the officers there is also a trifling difference; those of the line are gold, those of the light infantry silver. This forms the sole difference between the light infantry and the infantry of the line, with the exception that the light infantry uniform has yellow, that of the line red, facings.

(2) Cavalry of reserve, cavalry of line, and light cavalry.

The *light cavalry* consists of twelve regiments of "chasseurs" and six of hussars. These regiments have the same divisions and force as the lancers.

The artillery has eleven regiments, of four squadrons each. Each squadron has four batteries; the numerical force of these regiments is of two thousand men, and one thousand horses.

The *engineers* have three regiments, whose strength is the same as that of the light infantry. A train company is attached to each of these regiments; there is also a battalion of "*pontonniers*" whose duty it is to construct bridges, etc, during war; six train squadrons of park artillery, and a train corps for military equipages; but as these bodies are only useful in time of war, it is impossible now to state their effective force, which varies with the expectation of their being wanted.

There are, besides what I have mentioned, a number of corps that also form part of the army, but which are stationary and not destined for active service. The "*gendarmerie*" which forms the *police municipale* (municipal police), are spread in the sixteen great divisions I have mentioned over the whole surface of France. The companies of veterans do duty in forts. The company of "*garde-côtes*" (coast guards) are stationed at sea-ports. The municipal guard of Paris abides there under the orders of the prefect of police. The company of *douaniers*, (custom-house officers) are in the service of the custom-house. Other small bodies might also be mentioned of a similar character.

RECRUITING.

Such being the composition of the army, it is recruited in two manners; by conscription (appels) or by voluntary enlistment. The calls are made once a year in virtue of a law, which the chambers pass, and which is approved of by the King. This law calls under the tricolor from sixty to eighty thousand men per annum, according to circumstances, and the government distributes between the departments the proper contingent of each to the general levy. At the commencement of the year, the different mayors meet at the *chef-lieu* (chief town) of their *arrondissement*, bringing with them all the young men belonging to the several communes, who have completed their twentieth year; the sub-prefect, who administers in the arrondisse-

ment, having already prepared a list for that arrondissement containing the names of the young men liable to the conscription. After the effective of the contingent is determined, and the number which each canton is to supply ascertained, the young men inscribed on the list proceed to draw lots, and the first names that come forth are those to be enrolled. A short time after this, however, a council of revision is held, at which claims for exemption and other objections against the service are heard. A final list is then made out, and the individuals, whose names are found in it, are subsequently and definitively called to the ranks of the army in virtue of a royal ordonnance.

The military authorities then direct the young soldiers by detachments, more or less considerable, to the corps of which they are to compose a part. Arrived at their destination, they are incorporated in the companies or squadrons, so as to be properly mixed with the ancient soldiers. Their uniform is given to them, and, on the first review of the regiment, they are brought forward to take an oath of fidelity to the King, to the country, and to the tricoloured flag. The form of the oath is, "Je jure d'être fidèle au roi, à l'honneur et à la patrie, et de ne jamais abandonner les drapeaux!" (1) The transformation of the peasant, the artisan, the labourer, or the "bourgeois" is now complete! (2)

The legal duration of service in the army is seven years. (3) At the expiration of that period the soldier receives his discharge, and generally returns to his native district, and former employment. Some, however, re-engage in the army for two or four years, but these are generally of a class who would find it difficult to gain their livelihood in another manner.

The conditions of voluntary enlistment differ in no way from

(1) I swear to be faithful to the king, to the honour of the country, and never to quit my standard.

(2) None are admitted to the army who have been condemned for any disgraceful offence.

(3) About one sixth, it is calculated, re-enlist for two or four years. These receive a bounty of 22 francs for two years, and 44 francs for four years; besides, 8 centimes per day additional, after two years' service, and 10 centimes after six. I speak of infantry of the line. The other corps receive something more.

the conditions imposed on the soldier by conscription. Like him, the volunteer cannot retire from the service during the period of his engagement, till he has found a proper substitute. During the times of peace the number of volunteers is small. But, in war, or at a whisper of war, the military spirit of France revives. Immediately after the revolution of July, sixty thousand rushed to the national standard. (1) In 1832, there were eleven thousand nine hundred and eight volunteers, of whom one thousand three hundred and fifty-five were from the department of the Seine.

In 1833, there were but five thousand five hundred and ninety-one—of whom eight hundred and thirty-nine came from the department of the capital.

The persons so engaging, in time of peace, are naturally men for the most part without employment, persons whose enterprizing and adventurous character has already embarked them in scrapes; but sometimes young men of respectability, wishing to enter the military career without undergoing the discipline of the military schools, engage in this humble manner.

The sons of the greatest and richest families of France, of dukes and peers, have not disdained to arrive at the rank of an officer, by passing through the duties of a common soldier; and this not in appearance merely, but in reality. Many are the instances that could be cited of these young gentlemen doing their duty in every respect as a private of the ranks; supporting the severest fatigues and privations; currying their horses, cleaning their stables, and carrying the forage on their shoulders; nor is it extraordinary to meet in a soldier's room the descendant of a noble family and the bearer of a great name, sharing his bed with the son of one of his domestics. These examples were frequent under the restoration—more so immediately after its overthrow—not so frequent at the present time.

THE PAY.

The pay of the army is much the same now that it was prior to the revolution of 1789. The necessity for a great army, and

(1) Most of these, chance of war disappearing, purchased substitutes.

the difficulty of supporting a great expense, made this almost a matter of course; and under these circumstances it has even required an effort to keep up the ancient scale.

The pay then of the officer and the soldier (the former perhaps has the least to complain of) is in France, as elsewhere, but a miserable pittance for the services he has to perform, and the station he ought to maintain.

At the present moment the grade of a "sous-lieutenant" of the line—a rank equivalent to our ensign or cornet, is 1,500 francs per annum, in the foot regiments, and 1,725 francs in the cavalry. This is about the salary of a secondary merchant's junior clerk. (1)

The pay of all the other superior officers is in the same proportion as that of the sub-lieutenant. A colonel has 6,250 francs per annum in the infantry, and 6,875 in the cavalry. A lieutenant-colonel 5,275 in the infantry, and 5,875 in the cavalry. A chef-de-bataillon or d'escadron 4,500 in the infantry, 5,000 in the cavalry.

INFANTRY.

Captains.	1st class, 3,600 francs. 2nd class, 3,000 ditto.
Lieutenants.	1st class, 1,875 francs. 2nd class, 1,650 ditto.

CAVALRY.

Captains.	1st class, 3,750 francs. 2nd class, 3,450 ditto.
Lieutenants.	1st class, 2,175 francs. 2nd class, 1,875 ditto.

A marshal of France has 40,000 francs; a lieutenant-general, if commanding, 40,000 frs.; if not, 15,000 in peace, and 18,750 in war; a maréchal-de-camp has 10,000 frs. in peace, and 12,500 in war.

It is to be remembered that commissions are not purchased, and that, therefore, the pay, such as it is, which the officer receives, is wholly reward for his services, and not interest for his money. As to the soldier, his cost to the state cannot per-

(1) See Manual, Législation militaire.

haps be exactly calculated, because his arms, accoutrements, his barrack-room, the principal part of his clothing, are furnished by the public magazines and manufactories; but his daily allowance will give an adequate idea, in other respects, of his situation. (1) It amounts, on an average, to 48 centimes, about 4½d. a day. From this pittance 10 centimes, one penny, are withheld as a provision for the linen and stockings he may require, and for the small articles necessary to his dress and cleanliness; 30 c. three pence, are kept for his food, and he is supplied with one pound and a half of tolerable bread in addition; 8 centimes, about three farthings, are given to him for pocket money. Such is the state of the French soldier. (2)

It will be easily believed, that with resources apparently so inadequate, it would be impossible for him to exist but under a system of the most rigid economy. For this purpose, a subaltern officer is charged in each company with the control of the sum appropriated for food, and is in fact the superintendant of the mess, for it is by *messing* the food that a sum so minute is rendered sufficient for the purpose. This officer purchases himself at market the articles necessary; some soldiers are metamorphosed into cooks, and the dinner is divided into small tin dishes, and distributed fairly to each soldier of the company. The soldier has two meals a-day, one at ten o' clock, and the other at five. The first is composed of soup, and a quarter of a pound of boiled beef; the second of a small portion of vegetables, generally of potatoes or beans, with a quarter of a pound of mutton or veal. The only drink given is water; wine, brandy, or other spirits, are only distributed, and then, in very small proportions, on the occasion of public rejoicings, or on a visit of the General. ()

(1) Nouveau guide des sous-officers.—(New guide for non-commissioned officers.)

(2) The two flanc companies receive a halfpenny (5 cents.) a day more; and, as we have seen, those re-engaging after 8 years' service, 8 cents. more.

(3) When the soldier is in the colonies, a slight difference in the arrangements takes place. He has 1 lb. 9⅗ oz. of bread, with 8¼ oz. of salt or fresh beef, or 7 oz. of pork, daily. When on the war establishment, 1 oz. of rice, or 2 oz. of peas, and half an ounce of salt. Instead

PENSIONS.

As some atonement for the exiguity of his pay, the soldier has the prospective of a pension.

In time of peace this is earned by thirty years, in time of war, by fifteen years' service. (1)

Besides this, the orphans and widows of those who have perished in battle (2) receive a portion (about one-fourth) of the pension that their husbands or fathers would have been entitled to for retirement, whatever may have been the period of their service, in the rank they held. The widows and children of pensioners are also paid according to the same regulation; and the pension to a soldier's wife cannot be less than 100 frs.

The pensions of course vary according to rank, and the following table will exhibit their rates and proportions.

of paying 30 cents. for his messing, he pays only 20 in the colonies, and 14 on the war establishment.

Soldiers of good conduct are sometimes allowed to absent themselves from regimental duties, and work on their own account in the towns where they are quartered. They pay, in this case, five centimes per day to the mess, and six francs a-month to the soldier who does their duty, and cleans their arms. They must also pay for their linen, etc. unless their stock be complete.

(1) Two years in the colonies are counted as three years.

(2) There is also for the officers what is called "Traitement de réforme," (half-pay allowance,) in which he is in a middle state, between being in the army and out of it. Those who have served 20 years may receive this pay for ten, without being called upon to re-enter the service; those who have six years, for three, etc., etc. The allowance for a colonel is 1,200 frs.; for a sub-lieutenant, 320 frs.

STATEMENT OF HALF-PAY ALLOWANCES, SHOWING THE RATE ACCORDING TO RANK AND CORPS.

		MAXIMUM.	MINIMUM.
		Francs.	Francs.
General Staff. . . .	Lieutenant-general . .	6,000	5,000
	Maréchal-de-camp . .	4,000	3,500
Royal Staff Corps . .	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel . .	2,400	2,000
	Chief of battalion. . .	2,200	1,800
	Captain.	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant.	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant	1,000	800
Military intendance .	Military intendant. . .	4,000	3,500
	Sub-intendant. . . .	3,000	2,500
Commandants of Towns	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Chief of battalion. . .	2,000	1,800
Town Adjutants. . .	Captain.	1,500	1,200
	Lieutenant	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant	1,000	800
Board of Health. . .	Head surgeon.	2,000	1,600
	Assistant surgeon. . .	1,000	800
Gendarmerie.	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Chief of squadron. . .	2,200	1,800
	Captain.	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant.	1,200	1,000
	Quarter master. . . .	450	400
	Brigadier.	360	310
	Gendarme	320	220
Infantry of the Line.	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel . .	2,400	2,000
	Chief of battalion. . .	2,000	1,800
	Captain.	1,600	1,200
Light Infantry. . . .	Lieutenant	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant	1,000	800
Veteran Non-commissioned officers .	Adjutant non-commissioned officer. . . .	600	500
	Serjeant-major. . . .	500	400
Veteran Fusileers . .	Serjeant	400	300
	Corporals.	350	250
Artillery.	Soldiers.	300	200
Cavalry.	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel . .	2,400	2,000
	Chief of squadron. . .	2,000	1,800
	Major	2,000	1,800
	Captain.	1,600	1,200
Artillery.	Lieutenant	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant	1,000	800
Artillery Train. . . .	Adjutant.	600	500
	Head quarter-master. .	500	400
	Quarter-master. . . .	400	300
	Brigadier.	350	250
	Soldiers.	300	200

DISCIPLINE.

We now come to the discipline of the French army.

ADMINISTRATION OF A REGIMENT.

The administration of each regiment is confided to a council, composed of the colonel, a *chef d'escadron* or *de bataillon*, a major, a captain, and the officer "*d'habillement.*" (1) All these officers are convoked by the colonel, and deliberate, in common, on such matters as are connected with the administration of the regiment, excepting of course those which belong to the sovereign authority of the colonel, to whom the times of exercise, the rewards, punishments, and the general power over the troops, is reserved. An account, however, is rendered by him once a week to the *maréchal de camp* of all matters regarding his regiment. He corresponds also with the minister of war, who in very extraordinary circumstances communicates his instructions directly through him. Without orders, however, he can do nothing of importance, forming merely a link in the system, which, passing through the general and the intendant, centres at last in the war department.

PUNISHMENTS.

In every country, but in France particularly, military legislation must be severe. The principles of equality which have circulated among all classes oppose and weaken the principles of military obedience. The military code, therefore, is necessarily more terrible in its provisions and punishments than the civil code. Twenty-two cases are made punishable with death. Revolt—insubordination,—a blow from an inferior to a superior are certain to be followed by that punishment. Theft, which, by the ordinary law, is punished by imprisonment, and sometimes by solitary confinement, according to the military law, subjects the offender to the galleys. Every enactment is in the same proportion:—in 1832, out of an army composed of 388,402 men, 6,858 were brought up for justice (proportion to the total, 1 in 70).

(1) Who attends to the dress, etc.

Of this 6,858—

44 were sent before the ordinary tribunals, from the incompetence of the Council of War.

2,217 were acquitted.

4,627 were condemned: 93 to death—391 to hard labour—150 to seclusion—508 to the "*boulet*" (1)—1,149 to labour on the public works—2,336 to imprisonment.

It is to be observed that 1,555 were tried in the same month as their offence—2,267 in two months after their offence, and 3,111 subsequently to that period.

24,064 witnesses were heard, and the expenses of the proceedings were 156,217 francs.

The sentences pronounced were not all executed.

Of the 4,627 condemned, 496 obtained an entire pardon; 656 a commutation of sentence; and 13 capital sentences were alone put into execution.

From the report of the minister of war, we learn a very curious fact, viz. that of the 6,858 persons tried—2,806 were volunteers, and 2,559 substitutes for those who had enrolled; and but 1,693 persons entering by conscription, though the great bulk of the army is composed of these. It also appears that in the persons tried and condemned, there were, out of 17 soldiers,

7 volunteers,
6 substitutes,
4 conscripts.

This sufficiently shows the great superiority of the conscripts over the other two classes of soldiers.

There was but one of the scholars from the military schools tried, and he was acquitted; and from the gendarmerie, a force of 15,514 men, but 15 were brought to trial. Two facts important to France—as well in respect to the discipline of her troops as the security of her citizens.

The officers of rank brought to trial, offering a total of 16,642—15. Of the sub-officers, of a total of 20,524—176.

Of the corporals, etc. 26,012—216.

The annexed tables give these and other particulars.

(1) To drag the shot.

IED NUMBER OF SOLDIERS.

		To imprisonment.	Total of columns 3 to 8, equalling the number of soldiers condemned.	Sent before the civil tribunals, as being the only competent.	Acquitted.	Total of columns, 9, 10, and 11, equalling the number of soldiers brought to trial.
Soldiers voluntarily enlisted.	f	28	339	1	247	587
	l	941	1,509	4	706	2,219
Recruits.	f	231	463	3	304	771
	l	437	643	2	277	922
Substitutes.	f	12	310	,,	176	486
	l	907	1,362	4	505	1,871
Pupils of the military colleges.	f	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	l	,,	,,	,,	1	1
Gagistes.	f	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
		2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933

TABLE. SOLDIE THE DAY ON WHICH THEY WERE

ng served less	3	243	515	4	378	897
n 1 year..	5	368	571	5	211	817
ng served from	8	28	408	,,	241	649
o 4 years.	0	1,116	1,719	1	746	2,466
ng served from	3	7	116	,,	53	169
o 6 years.	4	405	636	3	227	869
ng served from	9	5	48	,,	24	72
o 8 years.	0	222	335	,,	146	481
ng served above	7	1	42	,,	22	64
ars.	5	161	234	1	139	374
	9	2,556	4,627	14	2,217	6,858
Natives of conquered	3	6	28	,,	47	75
	2	2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933

ON PRIMAIRE."

Having been ab to	0	1,342	2,391	6	1,279	3,676
Not having signed th	2	1,220	2,264	8	985	3,257
	2	2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933

To face page 282.

2nd TABLE. SOLDIERS CLASSED UNDER THE DESIGNATION BY WHICH THEY ENGAGED IN THE ARMY.

	Number of soldiers tried.	SCHEDULE OF THE SPECIFIED NUMBER OF SOLDIERS. CONDEMNED. To death.	To forced labour.	To solitary confinement.	To drag the shot.	To public works.	To imprisonment.	Total of columns 3 to 8, equaling the number of soldiers condemned.	Sent before the civil tribunals, as being the only competent.	Acquitted.	Total of columns, 9, 10, and 11, equalling the number of soldiers brought to trial.
Soldiers voluntarily enlisted. for desertion.	587	14	,,	,,	21	276	28	339	1	247	587
Soldiers voluntarily enlisted. for other offences.	2,219	32	181	46	10	299	941	1,509	4	706	2,219
Recruits. for desertion.	771	4	1	,,	12	216	231	463	3	304	771
Recruits. for other offences.	922	9	64	35	2	96	437	643	2	277	922
Substitutes. for desertion.	486	15	1	2	255	25	12	310	,,	176	486
Substitutes. for other offences.	1,181	19	144	47	8	237	907	1,362	4	505	1,871
Pupils of the military colleges. for desertion.	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Pupils of the military colleges. for other offences.	1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	1	1
Gagistes. for desertion.	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Gagistes. for other offences.	1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	1	1
Total.	6,858	93	391	130	308	1,149	2,556	4,627	14	2,217	6,858
Natives of conquered countries.	75	13	4	2	,,	3	6	28	,,	47	75
Grand Total.	6,933	106	395	132	308	1,152	2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933

3rd TABLE. SOLDIERS CLASSED UNDER THE DENOMINATION IN THE SERVICE TO WHICH THEY BELONGED, AT THE TIME OF THEIR BEING BROUGHT TO TRIAL.

Infantry of the line, and light companies.	3,996	56	247	75	213	667	1,558	2,816	8	1,172	3,996
Cavalry.	626	9	35	13	22	60	227	366	,,	260	662
Artillery.	493	1	31	18	24	58	184	316	1	176	493
Engineers.	97	1	7	4	2	11	40	65	,,	32	97
Waggon train.	50	,,	3	1	1	5	8	18	,,	32	50
Garrisons and cantonments.	198	,,	15	1	1	13	79	109	2	87	198
Gendarmerie.	15	,,	,,	,,	,,	2	6	8	,,	7	15
Dépôts for recruits.	513	,,	,,	,,	2	49	253	304	2	207	513
Battalions of light infantry for Africa.	43	3	3	2	,,	18	5	31	,,	12	43
Foreign legion and Zouaves.	324	13	18	8	1	106	58	204	,,	120	324
Discipline companies	383	9	26	8	9	108	133	293	,,	90	383
Yards for public labours and arsenals.	120	1	6	,,	33	52	5	97	1	22	120
Total.	6,858	93	391	130	308	1,140	2,556	4,627	14	2,217	6,858
Natives of conquered countries.	75	13	4	2	,,	3	6	28	,,	47	75
Grand Total.	6,933	106	395	132	308	1,152	2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933

4th TABLE. SOLDIERS CLASSED ACCORDING TO THE RANK WHICH THEY HELD ON THE DAY ON WHICH THEY WERE BROUGHT TO TRIAL.

Officers.	15	,,	1	,,	,,	,,	1	2	,,	13	15
Non-commissioned officers.	176	3	16	4	2	6	48	79	,,	97	176
Corporals or brigadiers.	216	4	20	10	6	6	65	111	,,	105	216
Soldiers, rank and file, musicians, drummers, trumpeters, workmen, recruits.	6,451	86	254	116	300	1,137	2,442	4,435	14	2,002	6,451
Total.	9,858	93	391	130	308	1,149	2,556	4,627	14	2,217	6,858
Natives of conquered countries.	75	13	4	2	,,	3	6	28	,,	47	75
Grand Total.	6,933	106	395	132	308	1,152	2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933

5th TABLE. SOLDIERS CLASSED ACCORDING TO THEIR LENGTH OF SERVICE UP TO THE DAY ON WHICH THEY WERE BROUGHT TO TRIAL.

Having served less than 1 year. for desertion.	897	5	1	,,	58	208	243	515	4	378	897
Having served less than 1 year. for other offences.	817	12	56	19	1	115	368	571	5	211	817
Having served from 1 to 4 years. for desertion.	649	20	,,	1	151	208	28	408	,,	241	649
Having served from 1 to 4 years. for other offences.	2,466	19	195	65	14	310	1,116	1,719	1	746	2,466
Having served from 4 to 6 years. for desertion.	169	5	,,	,,	51	53	7	116	,,	53	169
Having served from 4 to 6 years. for other offences.	869	7	72	29	2	124	405	636	3	227	869
Having served from 6 to 8 years. for desertion.	72	5	,,	1	18	19	5	48	,,	24	72
Having served from 6 to 8 years. for other offences.	481	10	41	10	2	50	222	335	,,	146	481
Having served above 8 years. for desertion.	64	4	,,	,,	10	27	1	42	,,	22	64
Having served above 8 years. for other offences.	374	6	26	5	1	35	161	234	1	139	374
Total.	6,858	93	391	130	308	1,149	2,556	4,627	14	2,217	6,858
Natives of conquered countries.	75	13	4	2	,,	3	6	28	,,	47	75
Grand Total.	6,933	106	395	132	308	1,152	2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933

6th TABLE. PERSONS CHARGED CLASSED UNDER "L'INSTRUCTION PRIMAIRE."

Having been able to sign their examination.	3,676	39	233	65	152	560	1,342	2,391	6	1,279	3,676
Not having signed their examination.	3,257	67	162	67	156	592	1,220	2,264	8	985	3,257
Total.	6,933	106	395	132	308	1,152	2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933

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SCHEDULE OF THE SAME NUMBER OF SOLDIERS TRIED.				Number of sentences passed.	Number of witnesses heard.	Costs of suit and court.
Within one month from the offence.	Subsequently to two months from the offence committed.	Within two months from the offence.	Total of columns 13, 14, and 15, equalling the number of soldiers brought to trial.			
20	6		33	10	37	120 „
8	9	75	92	84	232	1,922 75
7	9	52	68	46	145	784 70
51	95	326	472	477	1,312	8,625 „
					[illegible]	[illegible]

and sub-intendants, the councils of war are rather differently composed. In besieged towns, in departments in a state of trouble or civil war, councils are formed on the same principle of the best materials that can be found.

	Number of soldiers tried.	SCHEDULE OF THE SPECIFIED NUMBER OF SOLDIERS CONDEMNED. CONDEMNED. To death.	To forced labour.	To solitary confinement.	To drag the shot.	To the public works.	To imprisonment.	Total of columns, 3 to 8, equalling the number of soldiers condemned.	Sent before the civil tribunals, as being the only competent.	Acquitted.	Total of columns 9, 10, and 11, equalling the number of soldiers brought to trial.	SCHEDULE OF THE SAME NUMBER OF SOLDIERS TRIED. Within one month from the offence.	Subsequently to two months from the offence committed.	Within two months from the offence.	Total of columns 13, 14, and 15, equalling the number of soldiers brought to trial.	Number of sentences passed.	Number of witnesses heard.	Costs of suit and court.
Military offences (provided against by the military code).																		
1. Desertion to the enemy, or in face of the enemy.	33	11	„	3	„	4	„	18	„	15	33	20	6	7	33	10	37	120 „
2. — to foreign countries.	92	4	„	„	45	15	3	67	„	25	92	8	9	75	92	84	232	1,922 75
3. — to the interior by change of resolution.	68	16	„	„	21	8	1	46	„	22	68	7	9	52	68	46	145	784 70
4. — to the interior with arms and uniform.	472	3	„	2	56	244	34	339	„	133	472	51	95	326	472	477	1,312	8,625 „
5. — to the interior, not singly, but with others.	20	„	„	„	4	2	„	13	„	7	20	1	8	11	20	11	30	240 „
6. — to the interior singly	1,154	„	„	„	159	235	252	646	4	504	1,154	112	258	784	1,154	1,155	1,625	17,070 „
Total of desertion.	1,839	34	„	5	285	515	290	1,129	4	706	1,839	199	385	1,255	1,839	1,783	3,331	28,762 45
7. Offences classed under the heads of treason, spies, and persuading men to desert.	45	9	„	„	„	„	1	10	3	32	45	28	5	12	85	21	99	572 50
8. — under the head of insubordination.	873	42	299	3	14	26	117	501	3	369	873	135	344	394	873	753	4,192	24,942 10
9. — under the head of thefts, breach of trust, dishonesty and bribery	1,266	4	36	91	„	138	623	892	„	374	1,266	316	490	460	1,266	1,195	5,299	31,146 30
10. Offences other than those above specified.	2,033	„	15	1	9	462	1,146	1,633	1	399	2,033	641	726	666	2,033	1,912	6,268	32,914 82
Total of military offences, inclusive of desertion.	6,056	89	350	100	308	1,141	2,177	4,165	11	1,880	6,056	1,319	1,950	2,787	6,056	5,664	19,239	118,338 17
Common offences (provided against by the civil courts).																		
11. Thefts from private citizens	401	„	20	10	„	5	206	241	1	159	401	96	157	148	401	190	1,892	15,167 8
12. Assassinations and assaults.	235	17	16	14	„	3	71	121	1	113	235	61	87	87	235	153	1,228	15,504 1
13. Rapes, and offences against morals	18	„	2	2	„	„	2	6	„	12	18	4	6	8	18	14	159	947 60
14. Common offences, other than those above specified.	223	„	7	6	„	3	106	122	1	100	223	75	67	81	223	160	886	6,260 30
Grand Total.	6,933	106	395	132	308	1,152	2,562	4,655	14	2,264	6,933	1,555	2,267	3,111	6,933	6,181	23,404	156,217 97
Number of sentences declared, and of witnesses heard in cases nonlled.																126	660	
Total of sentences declared, and of witnesses heard.																6,307	24,064	

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MODE OF PROCEDURE.

In every division, there are established two permanent councils of war, and one council of revision—which is to the military courts what the "cour de cassation" (court of cassation) is to the civil.

The permanent councils are formed from every rank, and contain a colonel who presides, a chef-de-bataillon, two captains, one lieutenant, one sub-lieutenant, and one non-commissioned officer.

The council of revision consists of five members: one general officer who presides, one colonel, one chef-de-bataillon or d'escadron, two captains. (1)

The mode of proceeding is as follows: directly a person, subject to military law, is accused of an offence, his commanding officer arrests him, and institutes an inquiry into his conduct. Then, if against the person accused there appears a fair probability of guilt, he (the commanding officer) convokes the permanent council in his division—and before this council the offender is brought.

The tribunal hears the accusation, the witnesses on both sides, the defence, and then pronounces sentence. If three out of seven members declare the accused innocent, he is at once discharged—if five pronounce him guilty, the commissary of the King demands the application of the law against him.

The president reads the law, and again, if five determine on the same punishment, that one is adopted, if not, the opinion in favour of the mildest sentence is the one acted upon.

The criminal is then told the result of his trial, and twenty-four hours allowed him for demanding his case to be brought before a council of revision.

The council of revision can annul the sentence:

1. When the permanent council of war has not been formed in a legal manner.

(1) For generals-in-chief or of division, for colonels, majors, and chefs-de-bataillon or d'escadron, as well as for permanent military intendants, and sub-intendants, the councils of war are rather differently composed. In besieged towns, in departments in a state of trouble or civil war, councils are formed on the same principle of the best materials that can be found.

2. When it shall have passed beyond its competence, either in respect to the criminal, or the laws.

3. When it shall have declared itself incompetent in the case.

4. When the trial has not been conducted properly.

5. When the punishment adjudged is not a legal one.

Within twenty-four hours after the decision of the permanent court, if the case be not adjourned to the court of revision, and immediately after the judgment of the court of revision, if it be—the criminal, if sentenced to be put in irons, or to be sent to the galleys, or to proceed to a "*compagnie de discipline*," (1) or to a military penitentiary,(2) is escorted by the gendarmes to his destination. Should he be condemned to death, he is taken back to his regiment, and there, unless a pardon or reprieve be anticipated, shot forthwith. (3)

I believe great severity is required in the French military code; it has, however, been considered unnecessarily great,

(1) There are about 2000 men in what are called the companies of discipline—to which soldiers maiming themselves to prevent serving, or of a refractory disposition, are sent. In these companies, which are always in fortified towns, besides the ordinary military duties, the soldiers are employed in works of fortification, where the latter is in general very severe.

(2) The military penitentiaries are recent and experimental institutions, to which soldiers, whom there may be the hope of reclaiming, are sent instead of to the galleys. Here the prisoners are employed in different useful trades, receive the elements of instruction, and have a careful attention paid to their comparative conduct.

(3) There are, besides the great military tribunals that I have described, two for the officers, and one for the soldiers of a secondary description.

Those for the officers are called "*conseils d'enquête*" (councils of inquiry); and those for the soldiers "*conseils de discipline*" (councils of discipline.)

The "*conseils d'enquête*" are divided into "*conseils de division*" (councils of division), and "*conseils de régiment*" (regimental councils).

The first concerns all officers in a division as high as the rank of colonel, the second the inferior officers of a regiment.

These councils take cognizance of such offences as become sufficiently serious to disturb the good order of the army, though they do not sub-

and, whatever might be required in time of war, it appears possible to many military men in France, to do without the punishment of death in time of peace, except in cases of murder, or perhaps treason. Acts of mere insubordination are rarely the result of calculation or deliberation beforehand. They result in most cases from some momentary effervescence; and then the punishment of death, or any other penalty, is never thought of or cared for by the excited soldier. (1)

If some offences, however, are punished so severely in the French army, others receive a mild and honourable chastisement, directed especially at the mind of the soldier, and that sentiment which is the basis of his service.

These smaller punishments are the *corvée* (excessive labour), a *consigne au quartier* (confinement to his quarter), *la salle de police* (imprisonment), the *cachot* (dungeon), and interdiction to carry his sabre out of the ranks. The small faults or negligences are all punished by the *corvée*, or by confinement to quarters. The *corvée* is work imposed on the soldier, who is obliged, when not on duty, to devote himself to it, and is generally both of a tiresome and fatiguing description. He is made to bring the soup into town for his comrades on guard; to carry forage, and do any other menial offices required. The punishment of confinement to his quarters, in addition to his being interdicted from leaving his barracks, subjects him also to those portions of the punishment I have just described, which can be performed in quarters. He is besides placed in a corps which is designated the "*peloton de punition*," which "*peloton*" is commanded by a *non*-commissioned officer equally confined; and here the sergeant and soldier, if they do not pay the same atten-

ject the offender to the military code. And they can punish by suspension of rank or employment.

The "*conseil de discipline*" (council of discipline) is for offences of the same description, and may send a soldier to the "*compagnie de discipline*" (discipline company).

(1) It may be here worth observing that in the same year which I have been speaking of in France—as giving the result upon 388,000 men, of 6,858 committals on serious offences, there were within our force in Ireland and Great Britain (about 50,000 men), 920 soldiers in gaol, while 370 corporal punishments took place in the same year.

tion to their duty, as in ordinary exercise, are subjected to a continuation of their punishment. Sometimes the nature of the offence will be printed in large letters, and the soldier made to appear with it on his jacket turned inside out; a punishment sufficiently humiliating to him, especially when the exercise which he is obliged to go through is performed in some public place out of the barracks.

"*La salle de police*" includes the above punishments; but the culprit, in addition, is deprived of his room and bed, and obliged to sleep on bare plank—his duty and exercise continuing as before. The *prison* only differs from the *salle de police*, in this, that the offender is immediately locked up when he has performed either his military service, or the degrading duties of the other punishments. "*Le cachot*" is close imprisonment. The prohibition to carry his side arms when off duty, another punishment which I have mentioned, attacks the "*amour-propre*" of the French soldier, and is invariably found to be equally severe and effective. In order, indeed, to give it the appearance of great degradation, the colonel has only the power of interdicting the soldier from carrying his side arms for the space of sixty days; it requires the general of the division to prolong that term.

Every superior has the right to punish his inferior for any fault he may be guilty of. But the law provides and specifies the amount of the punishment, which *cannot be exceeded*. From the corporal, who can inflict four days' confinement to the barracks, or two days' to the "*salle de police*," up to the colonel, who can sentence to a month's confinement to the barracks, and fifteen days to the "*cachot*;" the different powers of the various ranks of officers, in everything concerning these punishments, are explained and determined by military regulations; at the same time the *colonel* has, of course, the power to augment or diminish the punishment, or to pardon the offence if he thinks proper. He is entitled also to punish the superior officer who has exceeded or abused his authority in inflicting an extravagant or unmerited punishment on his inferior.

The faults of the most frequent occurrence are generally the lightest, and are punished as soon as committed. But even when any of these trifling delinquencies are frequently repeated by the same individual, and when any species of incorrigibility

is exhibited, the punishment very properly becomes more severe. A non-commissioned officer, or corporal, or soldier of the first class, is degraded. This punishment, which affects the future prospects of the offender, is, however, considered an exceedingly severe one, and but rarely inflicted, except when all other means of correction have been tried and failed. The degradation is inflicted in the French army in presence of the regiment on parade.

PUNISHMENT OF OFFICERS.

The severer punishments of the officers are regulated, of course, by the ordinary provisions of the military code : the minor punishments to which they are subjected are, simple arrests, reprimand, close arrests, imprisonment. The *simple arrests* oblige the officer to confine himself to his chamber, without authority to leave it, but when called to perform his military duty, from which it would appear he is not even provisionally suspended. The *reprimand*, which must proceed from the colonel, or officer in command of the regiment, is given to the officer in presence of one or more of his brother officers. *Close arrest* does not permit the officer to leave his room under any pretext, nor receive any person there, but under express authorization of his commanding officer. A sentinel is generally placed at his door, and an inferior officer is sent to demand and take away his sword. Confinement in *prison* is only resorted to in very serious cases. The colonel can sentence an officer to fifteen days;—the lieutenant-general or the minister at war can only exceed that period.

One peculiarity which I may notice is, that it is the duty of the officer punished, when that punishment has been undergone, to make a formal visit to the colonel or commandant by whose orders it was inflicted. He must be accompanied by an officer of his own rank, and by another of a superior grade, and the visit must be gone through with all the established forms of politeness. It will not do to leave a card at the colonel's door; the colonel takes care to inform the punished officer of the day and the hour on which he will have the honour of receiving him.

The military ordonnance, which prescribes these details, has had in view the wish to re-establish, by the visit, the good understanding which it supposes the punishment of the officer

may have broken; this may be a reasonable supposition, perhaps, where the fault and the punishment have been both trifling, or where the officer is conscious of his error and is glad of the opportunity to redeem it. But it too often happens that this formal visit renders more inveterate the private feelings of hatred that may have existed before. When an officer conceives that he has been unjustly treated, or punished with unnecessary severity, such a visit, it may easily be imagined, can only be regarded by him as an addition to that treatment he complains of; and he can scarcely be expected to use such language, or to conduct himself so guardedly, as to fulfil the praiseworthy object for which the visit was ordered. It happens, therefore, but too frequently, that in place of friendship being renewed, and peace restored among the parties, a new and more implacable enmity commences, finally terminated by the death of one or other of the parties. (1)

HABITS, ETC.

Exercise of the person, racing, dancing, horsemanship, and all the exercises which are calculated to strengthen the constitution, and to develope address and agility, and daring on horseback, are encouraged among the troops. Gymnasiums have been established for this purpose in the principal garrisons, where a master in each of these different sorts of exercise directs the young soldiers. In fine weather they are occupied daily in learning to swim, and in the exercise of swimming, as well as in swimming their horses across a river or a pond of sufficient depth. It is especially in the art of fencing that the soldiers are taught to excel. To be a good fencer is considered a great honour in the French army. Care is taken to give great solemnity to the competitions among the good swordsmen, so as to preserve the taste for this sort of exercise. It is easy to suppose that the practice of this art renders quarrels of very frequent occurrence—nothing, in fact, is more common than duelling among the soldiers. It might be in vain to oppose this propensity, but the chiefs of the corps seem rather to encourage it than otherwise, for, although they punish the offender with fifteen

(1) In some cases, indeed, where this visit is considered too painful for the feelings of the officer forced to make it, it is dispensed with.

days' imprisonment, if he accept a challenge, they are the first to testify their contempt, and endeavour by all means in their power to expel him the army, if he decline one.

The life of the soldier in some measure resembles that of a monk. He passes as much time in the barrack as the monk does in the monastery. He has no connection with the interior of a city. Scarcely has he time to make a slight acquaintance in the place where he is in garrison, before he receives orders to march to another quarter, where he is an utter stranger. The change of garrisons takes place very frequently, and it would seem as if the government adopted the plan for the purpose of isolating more and more the soldier, and preventing his forming too close a relationship with the people. The very ties which bind him to his family are attempted to be broken, for he is only permitted under the most pressing circumstances to visit his relations; and to marry is almost prohibited him. The officer, it is true, may marry, but *only* on the authorisation of the minister of war, who never consents but in cases where the *pecuniary interests* of the officer are to be *benefited*. The colonel of a regiment has also the power of granting permission to the non-commissioned officers, and even to the soldiers under him to marry; but it is only under very peculiar circumstances that this favour is allowed. It occurs, therefore, but very rarely; and, in fact, is almost entirely confined to the soldiers who wish to marry some woman who may be useful to the regiment as *cantonnière* or washerwoman. (1)

But while every endeavour is made to break the links which connect the soldier with the mass of the people, every incitement and encouragement to maintain "*l'esprit du corps*" is given. The men of the same company, or troop, live together; they are expected to support and defend each other mutually, and the chief subaltern of the party is instructed to keep up this sentiment of fraternity, by punishment, as well as by recompense. If one man conduct himself badly, it often happens that all his party come in for a share of his punishment, as if the

(1) These regulations, it is to be observed, are not so severe as they may, with our own military habits, at first appear, because the soldier passes merely through the army in transition, and can in a short time return to the affections and habits of a civilian.

whole company were considered responsible for the conduct of any one of its members. If, on the contrary, the man acquire merited praise, either from some act of public service or private conduct, the company again comes in for a share of the eulogy to the individual, and is recompensed in a body, by some small favours, as an exemption from roll-call and the like.

What I have said of the company applies equally to the battalion, to the regiment, and to the brigade. It not unfrequently happens, when there is an unusual assemblage of troops, that some quarrel may spring up between two regiments, and it is then observed that other regiments take part on one side or the other, as they seem to be connected with the immediate parties, in respect to their similarity of military discipline. I remember seeing a singular quarrel of this description, which almost ended in a general battle between the infantry and cavalry at Versailles.

PROMOTION.

We are now come to the distinguishing feature of the French army, the principle of which, in fact, regulates and remedies the various parts of the system we have been considering.

The small pay, the severe discipline, of the French soldier must have struck us on the one side, the constant appeals to his honour, and his love for his profession, must also have struck us on the other. What makes this severe discipline and small pay supportable? From what cause does the military pride which characterizes him proceed?

It is his method of promotion. The man who enters at fourpence halfpenny a-day in the ranks may become, nay, has become, one of the highest persons in the state. "The soldier carries on his *giberne*" (cartouch-box), said Napoleon, "the bâton of a marshal of France."

During the empire, the battle quickly cleared the intermediate spaces between subaltern and superior ranks. The restoration, desirous of encouraging the young nobility to arms, would gladly have given the same celerity to favour that had attended upon peril: here, however, the nation interposed.

In 1816 a law was passed regulating promotion; and this law

anxious only to fetter the court, cramped and depressed the military ardour, which the natural spirit of the people and their long train of conquests had tended, of late more especially, to develope. By this law, no person could pass from one rank to another without four years' service in the preceding grade. Not the greatest favourite could obtain the rank of colonel until eighteen years had been passed in climbing the long ladder of inferior steps.

Nothing was more fatal to the old monarchy than this very law; for it drove all the nobility and the richer and higher classes of society out of it, and thus, with the exception of a few regiments, the army in general was entirely democratic, and easily disposed, when a contest arose, to take the same views and the same course as the people.

In 1832, the new government, though composed of many of the men who contended for the law of 1816, presented another law entirely opposed to it. It is no longer, then, now, as under the restoration, an interval of four years of service in each grade, that renders the officer qualified for promotion. It is sufficient that he has served two years in an inferior, or three years in a superior, to be eligible to higher rank. There is also this difference between the two laws, that the present law requires a longer service in the superior rank than in the inferior; while the law of 1816, on the contrary, required longer service and, in consequence, more experience from the subaltern than from the superior officer, which was evidently an absurdity. This law has likewise guarded against favouritism, by being more favourable to seniority. The law of 1816 allowed only a third of the nominations to seniority, that of 1832 gives the moiety; with the exception, however, of the ranks of colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and general, where age cannot reasonably be taken as the title for elevation. (1)

According to this new law, the time necessary to pass from one grade to another is thus regulated :

Six months' service for a soldier to become a soldier of the first class.

(1) It seems sufficient for officers to arrive to the rank of major with no other title to merit than their age.

Six months for a soldier of the first class to become *corporal*, in the infantry, or *brigadier*, in the cavalry.

Six months for a corporal or *brigadier* to become sergeant in the infantry, or *maréchal des logis*, or *fourrier* in the cavalry.

Six months sergeant or *maréchal des logis*, to become sergeant major, or *maréchal des logis chef*.

Six months sergeant-major, or *maréchal des logis chef*, to become *adjutant-sous officier*.

Three years service, to become *sous-lieutenant*—the first and lowest rank of a commissioned officer.

Two years service as a sub-lieutenant, to become lieutenant.

Two years lieutenant to become captain.

Two years captain to become *chef-de-bataillon* in the infantry, or *chef-d'escadron* in the cavalry.

Three years major (the above ranks are equivalent to that of major in our service) to become lieutenant-colonel.

Three years lieutenant-colonel to become colonel.

Three years colonel to become *maréchal de camp*.

Three years in this last rank to become lieutenant-general—that grade in the military hierarchy, above which the only dignity is *maréchal de France*.

It is thus seen, that the simple soldier rises as the rest, if his education and good conduct qualify him for promotion. Indeed, the law I have been quoting assigns a third of the nominations of sub-lieutenant to soldiers rising from the ranks (1)—the remaining two-thirds being reserved, one for the pupils of the military schools, and the other for the particular choice of the King.

Since the revolution of July, it has so happened that many officers of different corps having left the service, it became necessary to raise a great number of non-commissioned officers in each regiment to the rank of officers.

This circumstance has been considered highly favourable to the good disposition of the army, and has awakened in the body of non-commissioned officers those hopes of distinction and pro-

(1) Not only does the soldier in these cases give nothing for his commission, but he is made an allowance, when he receives it, for his equipment.

motion which attached them to the empire, a circumstance of which it is impossible to over-estimate the effects.

The non-commissioned officer lives with the soldier; and, there being no aristocratic feelings operating against him, exercises almost an absolute authority over his inferior. A body of unruly or undisciplined non-commissioned officers carry with them in a revolt the entire regiment, and can equally, in times of trouble, secure its discipline and obedience.

I have said that one third of the commissions are given to the military schools : it will be interesting to say something of these.

The *École Polytechnique* (Polytechnic school), at Paris, is exclusively for artillery and engineers, and, on quitting it, the young officer goes for two years to the *École d'application d'Artillerie et du Génie* (the school for the artillery and engineers), at Metz.

The *École Militaire de St. Cyr* (the military school of St. Cyr) is for young officers of the line, who, if they pass an examination at the end of two years, are made sub-lieutenants.

The admission to this school is in itself submitted to an examination, and can only be the result of successful competition.

On the 20th July every year this examination takes place in all the principal towns in France, the names of the candidates having been previously inscribed on the 10th June. The candidates must be not less than eighteen, nor more than twenty-one years of age.

The examination is in Latin, French, German, arithmetic, algebra, chemistry, geography, and history; and after these different local examinations, a jury at Paris, composed of three general officers, four special examiners, the commandant of the school of St. Cyr, the director of the studies of that academy, and a president, decides on the various claims.

The pupils pay 250 francs on admission for their trousseau, and 1,800 francs per annum. (1) On quitting St. Cyr, some are en-

(1) One in every twenty-five is received and educated gratuitously. These must be persons in distress, and the children of officers in the army.

gaged in the duties of sub-lieutenant in the infantry, and others, a privileged class, in consequence of having obtained the prizes at the school competitions, pass two additional years at the "*École spéciale de l'état major*" (school special for the staff), after which they can serve in the capacity of aide-de-camp to a general, or be employed on the staff. Some again, destined for the cavalry, are sent to the *École de Cavalerie de Saumur*, where they are taught riding and the service of the cavalry, and there qualify themselves to take rank among the officers of the cavalry regiments. In this school, which is one of the finest establishments of the sort in Europe, three classes receive a complete military education. The first class is composed of captains, lieutenants, and cornets of each regiment, who, at the end of two years' study, rejoin their corps, and carry there, in quality of *instructors*, the knowledge which they have acquired during their residence at Saumur. The second is formed of young officers from St. Cyr, and the third of young volunteers, who at the end of two years proceed, with the rank of non-commissioned officers, to the regiments of cavalry, as "*maréchaux des logis instructeurs*" (instructors), and assist the principal *instructeur* (instructor) in the education of the soldiers.

The "École d'état Major" (school for the staff) is for officers destined for that branch of service. The scholars are admitted after an examination, at which, out of 60 candidates, 22 are chosen.

The candidates are of two descriptions,—50 from the military schools, and 50 from the army.

To these, three are added from the École Polytechnique. The 25 entering form the first division; the 25 who have already been a year, the second. At the end of two years the scholars leave.

The military professors are :—

1 Professor of topography and of geodesia.
1 idem of geography, astronomy, and statistics.
1 idem of artillery.
1 idem of the military art, and of service of the staff-major.
1 idem of fortification, attack, and defence of fortresses.
1 idem of military administration.

Besides, the *chef de bataillon*, charged with the police of the

school, explains the theory of the manœuvres of infantry, and one of the capitaines-adjoints, the theory of cavalry manœuvres.

The civil professors are:

1 Professeur de machines, et de lavis.
1 idem of drawing landscape, shades, and perspective.
2 idem of the German language.

The scholars are in barracks, but enjoy every liberty compatible with their studies.

Besides these principal schools, there are still others, called "*Ecoles régimentaires*," which serve for the instruction of non-commissioned officers and soldiers; teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, etc.

I have now run shortly over the principal features of the French army.

First, its administration, which is very remarkable.

Secondly, its composition and formation, the striking circumstance of which is the superior class of persons which, by conscription, it obtains.

And thirdly, its discipline sustained by the balance of severe punishment on the one side, and great encouragement on the other: but, in reference to the encouragement given to military talent, I ought to say something of that institution which, though not wholly military, has been the greatest incentive to military ability, and furnishes, at the present moment, an example in every respect worthy of imitation to the rest of Europe;—I mean "the institution of the Legion of Honour."

LEGION OF HONOUR.

The royal order of the Legion of Honour was instituted by the law of the 29th *floréal*, year 10, to recompense military and civil virtues and services.

The order is composed of:

Chevaliers, of whom the number is unlimited.	
Officers.	2000.
Commanders	400.
Grand officers.	160.
Grand crosses.	80.

Neither foreigners nor Princes of the Royal Family are in-

cluded in these numbers. The members swear fidelity to the King, to the charter, and the laws.

No one can be admitted but with the first grade as chevalier, and the ordinary regulation requires twenty-five years' service during peace (*) in civil or military functions. In time of war, a brave or brilliant action, or a severe wound, are deemed sufficient authorization for admission. The exception to the former rule is indeed so frequent that it is sufficient to say the King can grant the honour of the order to any person distinguished for his services, in the military or civil departments, or for any benefit he may have conferred upon the sciences or arts.

But to rise to a superior rank, it is indispensable to have passed through the inferior ranks, viz:

1. For the rank of officer, it is necessary to have served four years as a chevalier.

2. For the rank of commander,—two years as an officer.

3. For the rank of grand officer,—three years as a commander.

4. For the rank of grand cross,—five years as a grand officer.

When any promotions are to take place, the King determines the number of decorations of each grade—and a distribution is made by the grand chancellor of the order, in the following proportion, 40 in 40.

2	to the	Minister of Justice and Religion.
1	"	Foreign Affairs.
5	"	Home Affairs.
2	"	Public Works.
2	"	Finances.
20	"	War.
3	"	Marine.
1	"	Public Instruction.
2	"	the Grand Chancellerie.
40		

To every person decorated with this order certain military honours are due on all public occasions, and at all times a soldier on duty presents arms on seeing the decoration.

(*) A year in time of war counts to the soldier as two.

The salaries are as follows :

Officers. . . .	1000 francs.
Commander . .	2000 ditto.
Grand Officers. .	5000 ditto.
Grand Crosses. .	5000 ditto.

All other members of inferior grade, 250 frs.

A colonel may recommend the officers and soldiers of his regiment in the subjoined proportion.

Infantry line.

1 Officer for the cross of officer.

6 Officers
5 Subaltern officers or soldiers } Regt. of 5 battalions. { For the Cross of Chevalier.

4 Officers
2 Subaltern officers or soldiers } Regt. of 2 battalions. { For the Cross of Chevalier.

Cavalry.

1 Officer for the cross of officer.

3 Officers
1 Subaltern officer or soldier } For the Cross of Chevalier.

There are, besides the order of the Legion of Honour,—

The Order of St. Esprit.
St. Michel.
Mérite Militaire.

It is with extreme deference to military authorities that I venture on a few concluding remarks.

What I have been saying will have struck three classes of persons, I imagine, in three different manners.

The economist will have compared the fourpence and one third a-week given to the French soldier, with the thirteen pence given to the British.

The philanthropist will have compared the mental punishment inflicted on the French soldier, in many instances, and which raises his character, with the corporal punishment, in the same cases, inflicted on the British soldier, by which his character is degraded.

And the soldier himself will have compared the facilities for attaining military distinction in the one country, and the impediments placed in the way of his attaining military distinction in the other.

Exaggeration upon all these subjects is no doubt likely to arise.

The British soldier is not paid so much more than the French soldier, when you consider, first, the different expenses of washing, and many minor necessaries in France; especially when you see that the messing of the British soldier is eight-pence, and that of the French three-pence.

Neither is the punishment so much less severe in the French service than in the English, because, if the English soldier is sometimes flogged when the French soldier would not be so, the French soldier is sometimes shot where the English one would be flogged.

Neither is the hardship in respect to promotion entirely the same, as long as the two systems remain upon their present footing.

The English army is recruited by volunteers from the working class of England; that is to say, it is from the most destitute of a class, the great bulk of which is in a miserable state, and removed almost altogether, as well from the habits as the feelings of their country, from rising much above their native condition.

The French army, on the contrary, is recruited, not by volunteers of the working class, but by conscripts from every class, and the injustice would be terrible if you forced a man of fair prospects and education, to whom all professions were open, to engage in the army, and then did not allow him any chance of advancing himself in the service into which you had compelled him to enter.

The two armies are not to be compared as if the state of government and the state of society were the same in the two countries; they are to be contrasted as the results of two governments and two states of society entirely different.

I have painted in deplorable colours the condition of the British soldier. He is shown me in the heart of Asia panting beneath a tropical sun, subjected to the lash, unvisited by any gleam of promotion; and I am asked, is twenty-five years such service the melancholy vista through which he has to look for sixpence a-day?

God knows, I think the case cruel and severe enough! (1)

(1) If any effective regulations can be made to remedy this, they

But see what his case would have been at home! Would he have been happier as a Sussex labourer, or a hand-loom weaver, or even a cotton-spinner, in his native country?

Now starved, now intoxicated, with his children here in the workhouse, and there in the factory! the situation of the British soldier is relative to the situation that he would have held if he had not been a soldier, and of this you have the best assurance in the voluntary nature of his service. His punishments, his advancement, are all according to the ideas which prevail in respect to the class he belongs to, and the position which, if a citizen, he would have filled.

You offer him a decent maintenance; this he expects, if he works, because, as a peasant, he can get a scanty maintenance by law, if he does not work. You subject him to a life of much hardship and much constraint; this he submits to, if he is paid, because, as a peasant, he would have also been subjected to severe toil, and much constraint.

You do not offer him much prospect of rising in the army, because he enjoyed, poor fellow, little prospect of rising in the world! He is the creature of your laws and your habits, which declare that no man is to be compelled to any thing except by poverty, and, at the same time, subject the great masses of society to this law of voluntary compulsion.

All is liberty, if you please to call it so, and inequality.

In France it is just the reverse. In the first place, the law, by what we should call an arbitrary enactment, has diffused the advantages of fortune amongst all persons; and, in the second place, it has, by another arbitrary enactment, forced all persons to be soldiers.

You are not, then, in looking at the army, to consider

might be, first, in relation to corporal punishment; secondly, in respect to pensions, and time of service. Better men might possibly enter the army, if the release they expected was of shorter date; and at all events it would be fairer and kinder to give a more frequent opinion. A scale of pensions, not disadvantageous to the government, might easily be devised, favouring this,—allowing more than we now give after twenty-five years of service, and admitting the retirement on a small pension, or by purchase, at much shorter dates.

merely the army, but the state of society from which the army comes.

Every part of a system is much more interwoven with the whole than we are at first sight disposed to imagine : we place property in a few hands. Our next consequence must be—in order to preserve property—to place power in a few hands also.

What follows?—the high ranks are for the rich, the low for the poor.

Apply this to the army!—Your officers buy their commissions; —your ranks are filled with the desperate and the starving. This army for a time serves the country it belongs to well, in spite of all theories to the contrary, because it reflects the society of that country where the rich are used to command and the poor to obey. But other notions in respect to society and government spring up; we discover things which we deem ought to be remedied. The first practice in medicine and legislation is to attack symptoms; it is not until after much experience that we really assail the disease. But the same distemper shows itself differently in different persons, and is met for a time in different ways.

You wish to elevate the working classes, and you make laws against pauperism; you wish to elevate the soldiery, and you make regulations against flagellation. You will come at last to some fact which lies at the bottom of all this.

NATIONAL GUARD.

I shall now say one or two words on the civil force of France, which has occupied more or less of our attention of late years.

The National Guard was re-organized by a law of the 22nd March 1831.

Every Frenchman, aged from twenty to sixty years, is obliged to serve in the district in which he is domiciled, with a few exceptions provided for by the law.

The service is divided into—service in the interior of the commune, and into—service by detachment out of the territory of the commune; *i. e.* the service of detached corps for the purpose of aiding the troops of the line. (1)

(1) When the national guard furnishes detached corps on the defence

There is the ordinary service, comprising all citizens who pay a personal contribution; and there is a reserve, comprising all citizens for whom the habitual service would be too onerous; these latter are only called out under extraordinary circumstances.

A national guard of cavalry may also be formed in any commune or canton where it may be judged useful or necessary, always providing that *ten* persons will undertake to equip and furnish themselves with horses at their own expense.

In all fortified places there are companies of artillery.

There are, besides, companies of *sapeurs-pompiers* in places where they do not exist, as belonging to the line; and in the sea-ports, companies of marines are also formed.

The punishments, in cases of disobedience or infraction of the regulations, are applied by a council of discipline, composed of a captain, as president, a lieutenant or sub-lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, and a private.

The government furnishes clothing, arms, and equipment, on the demand of those who have not themselves the means to purchase their outfit.

The national guards wounded in the service are entitled to the same indemnities as the troops of the line.

The King has power to dissolve the national guard at his pleasure, either entirely or by companies in the different districts.

The object of the government in respect to this force is to have it as much a local one as possible; and its formation is subject to the regulations most likely to effect this.

A commune, where it is possible, furnishes a company, and the adjoining parts of it a subdivision of a company.

of fortified towns on the frontiers, the service can only last for twelve months. In such cases, the national guard are subject to the laws of the army, and receive the same treatment and pay.

FORMATION OF COMPANIES.

SUB-DIVISION OF A COMPANY.

	14 years	15 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50
Lieutenants.	0	0	0	1	1
Sub-Lieutenants. . .	0	1	1	1	1
Serjeants.	1	1	2	2	3
Corporals.	1	2	4	4	6
Drummers.	0	0	0	1	1

The ordinary force of a company is from 60 to 200 persons, according to the populousness of the locality; but if a commune can only furnish 50 men, that number forms a company.

A COMPANY CONSISTS OF

	50 to 80	80 to 100	100 to 140	140 to 200
1st Captain.	1	1	1	1
2nd Captain.	0	0	0	1
Lieutenants.	1	1	2	2
Sub-Lieutenants. . .	1	2	2	2
Serj. Major.	1	1	1	1
Serj. Fourrier. . . .	1	1	1	1
Serjeants.	4	6	6	8
Corporals.	8	12	12	16
Drummers.	1	2	2	2

BATTALIONS.

A battalion must be formed of four companies at least and eight at most.

The staff of a battalion is as follows:—

A chef de bataillon,
Captain adjutant major,
A standard bearer sub-lieutenant,
A surgeon adjutant major,
An adjutant subaltern officer,
And a tambour maître.

If more than one company is formed in any commune, the companies coming from the same commune cannot be allotted to different battalions.

In those cantons or towns where there are two battalions of 500 men each, these may be united into a legion, and in those

communes which furnish more legions than one, these may be united under a commander-in-chief—who is named by the King.

All the officers, up to and including the captain in each company, are chosen by the persons designated to form it.

The chef de bataillon, and standard-bearer of the battalion, are chosen by the officers and non-commissioned officers of that battalion.

The chefs de légion and the lieutenant-colonels are chosen by the King, out of a list of ten candidates, designated by the persons who choose the chef de bataillon.

These are the principal regulations in respect to this municipal force, intended to be at once an aid and check upon the army of the line, and placed under the authority of the mayors, prefects, sub-prefects, as delegates of the minister of the interior, —who is to the national guard what the minister of war is to the army.

CENTRALIZATION.

CHAPTER XI.

Concluding Remarks.

I TRUST that I have not proceeded thus far, wading as a matter of necessity through many dry details, without conducting the reader, who has been patient enough to accompany me, to some knowledge of the matter we set out in quest of.

I mean, the civil and military administration of France—under a system of centralization.

We have seen the whole receipts and expenditure of the government managed by one office, and the accounts of a country thus kept with the exactitude of a counting-house; while every local budget is also brought under the eye of the execu-

tive, which learns in this manner, not only how much the state requires for its common purposes, but how much the village requires for its especial ones.

We have seen all the tribunals of the law centralized in a particular court, and the administration of the laws also centralized in a particular ministry; the one preserving a universality in the decrees of justice, and the other a universality in its motion.

We have seen, too, the system which detects or prevents the crime in harmony with that which judges the criminal; all the powers of pursuit directed by one hand, and all the duties of inspection centered in one great eye, which casts its regard over the whole empire, tracing, by an especial process, the footsteps of every individual, and watching, with equal vigilance, the petty felon who is stealing a watch, and the state criminal who is plotting a revolution.

We have seen the instruction of the people, as well as the prosecution of the criminal, also considered a state affair, and entrusted to a ministry, the centre of a variety of ramifications by which the branches of education are at once controlled and provided for.

We have seen even commerce and manufactures connected by a series of links with the department which presides over their prosperity, carried from the country to the towns—from the towns to the capital, and in the capital placed under a public functionary with whom they communicate.

We have seen the administration of the interior of the country extending like so many branches from a parent tree, which defends the region where it flourishes from many evils by the extent of its vast shadow, but prevents the growth of many advantages, therein, by the extent of its vast roots.

We have seen, moreover, the elements of conquest combined in the same manner as the elements of peace. The military administration conducted on the same principle as the civil; and an immense army paid, punished, promoted, maintained, disbanded, by one public officer, before whom every possible consideration is brought, and by whom every order is given.

The force which is to preserve France from aggression is framed indeed on different principles from that which is to carry out its ideas of conquest, but it has still, even in its local frac-

tions, a connection with the head of the state, and while the inferior officers are named by the people, its superior officers are chosen by the monarch.

The system of public receipt and expenditure in France, such as I have described it, the result of many experiments and alterations, is not only good in itself, but especially excellent for the country which adopts it, where long habits of financial peculation render it impossible to give great authority to subordinate functionaries, and yet where, from the absence of local banks and the smallness of general credit, it is necessary that the government should make every effort for the local receipt and payment of all moneys where it is possible, and for their rapid circulation where it is not.

The judicial system possesses some faults doubtless, but is frequently blamed not because it is bad, but because it is badly administered.

There is no legal reason why the president of a "court royal" should assail a prisoner as if he were a prosecutor instead of judge—there is no legal reason why the judge of a court of the first instance, before whom a prisoner must appear within twenty-four hours after his capture, should keep that prisoner in confinement, if he ought to let him loose. Here we can only say that the law, though favourable to freedom, is not sufficient in many instances to counterbalance the manners which are favourable to power.

But, take the judicial system as a whole—with the superb fiction of a public ministry charged with the prosecution of crimes—and which, extending throughout the kingdom, has a *procureur-du-roi* in every arrondissement, and a *procureur-général* in every judicial division—with the local courts that offer such an easy access to justice, and where the government (as is generally the case) is not concerned, justice is invariably dealt out—with the prompt and conciliatory process on all minor civil cases, where the judgment of the magistrate is definitive—with the clearness, simplicity, and unity of the law, which is maintained and defined by one ultimate and central court of appeal—take the judicial system as a whole, I say, and it must be admitted to contain great advantages, which might be rendered greater, but which a people may be well content to purchase with some defects.

The criminal police, with its passports and gendarmerie, considered as attached to the system I have just been mentioning, might be a wise and beneficent, but is an immense exertion of power; such as a community accustomed to it might do well to continue, but which it would be fatal to transmigrate to other countries, long accustomed to privileges of individual freedom.

The political police is, I feel convinced, at once dangerous and useless. It sometimes creates plots, it never discovers them when they are worth discovering; it destroys social confidence; it creates a perpetual suspicion of the executive power, and sometimes teazes a nation into revolt when there really exists no great cause for disaffection.

The ministry of instruction, with that incongruity that pervades most of the French institutions, exercises rights the most arbitrary, and aims at objects the most popular. That the government should assume to itself the power of dictating to all private establishments the course of education they should pursue, and even the very books through which they should pursue it, would be considered by a nation such as ourselves one of the most serious infringements of social liberty; on the other hand, that a state should charge itself with the careful provision of education for every one of its inhabitants, the poor as well as the rich, offering every encouragement, whether in the military or civil service, or through literary institutions, for every successful exercise of talent and assiduity, is a policy so enlightened and so paternal, that it is difficult to distrust the hand it proceeds from. In fact, the abuses such a ministry might be guilty of are checked by that public opinion it must create; but though a liberal legislator would propose such a plan without hesitation, I doubt much whether a country long accustomed to freedom would be willing to receive it.

The scheme of commercial administration has many benefits. It brings the minister into direct and practical contact with all the wants and defects of industry. It presents him, through the means of a small and respectable body, with the state not merely of commerce and manufactures, but of the manufacturing and commercial classes throughout the country. It affords him the opportunity of sifting statements, and comparing interests. In

short, it gives to an able man immense facility in thoroughly understanding that important branch of administration over which he presides. But it also gives to the interests of the producer, which are centralized and represented, a great superiority over those of the consumer, which are not so, and has, no doubt, had a sensible influence over the commercial policy which, in contradiction to our remonstrances, France still determines on pursuing.

The interior administration of the country which is, in fact, the administration of the minister of the interior, though I mention it last, more especially deserves our consideration.

Wherever the aristocracy is in England, the government is in France. The magistrates are paid by, and attached to, the government. The Lord Lieutenants are paid by, and attached to, the government. As far as this goes, there is much to say not only against but in favour of the plan. It collects power, but it collects responsibility also, round one authority. It extinguishes the influence of all petty and local passions, and it gives to the administration, which is answerable for the peace of the country, a proper control over those who are appointed to preserve it.

That even the mayor should be an officer appointed by the crown is defencible; for if otherwise chosen, he must, in many places, be an enemy of the state.

But the question most disputed and most disputable is the power which the government has, and which the government exercises, of interfering in all those minor affairs of expenditure and improvement which it would appear that the locality itself might best decide on.

Not only cannot a commune determine its own expenses without the consent of the minister or one of his deputed functionaries, it cannot even erect a building, the cost of which shall have been sanctioned, without the plan being adopted by a board of public works attached to the central authority, and having the supervision and direction of every public building throughout the kingdom.

The arguments in support of this are many and plausible. In the first place, its advocates say, "the power of the minister is only an economic one; he cannot compel the communes to any expense, but simply prevent or moderate the expenses they are

anxious to incur. What motive can he have for exercising this authority that would make it likely that he should abuse it? Is he not rather likely to sanction than to refuse an undertaking which the inhabitants of the place consent to, and which, if successful, illustrates his administration?

Is not the board of works, too, composed of skilful architects and engineers, better able to furnish an elegant design, or to correct a bad one than the village mason?

Is it not in this manner, that France may be enriched, even in her remote hamlets, by the taste which presides in her capital; and edifices, really beautiful, erected at the same, or even at a less cost, than some monstrous pile of bricks and mortar would be, if provincial barbarism had no check put upon its inventions?" All these are plausible arguments and easy to find, because, as there is no good without its evil, so there is no evil without its good. But they disappear at once, as merely involving small questions of detail, when, taking a broader view of the question, we look at human nature as the guide to legislation, and consider what breathes into a people that spirit and that energy which are the real elements of national greatness. The Indians teach their children to swim by throwing them into the water beyond their depth. We learn most things in the same manner, by having to struggle against difficulties, and being left to our own resources.

What, then, is the consideration of a commune's accidental extravagance, or a prison's or a hospital's inelegant construction, compared with that habit of acting for ourselves, and thinking for ourselves, and relying upon ourselves, which gives not only to individuals, but to nations, that invaluable moral property which we call "character," and which never abandons us in any moment of our lives.

Centralization in a government is an excellent thing, providing you can place a proper control upon it, where the object is general; but it is upon the whole a foolish and an inexpedient thing where the object is local.

Of the army, I have spoken at such length and in such detail, that if I pause upon it here again, it can only be to say, that the system under which it moves seems the best calculated to give a terrible energy to this terrible force, which, strange to say, is less likely to be hostile to liberty from the greatest innovation of

its rights; for in forcing the citizen to become the soldier we leave the soldier also in a great degree the citizen.

A militia or national guard is an institution well adapted to a military people, like the Prussians and the French, who, amused by the drum and the uniform, give up their time without reluctance to bearing the duties of a soldier, while they retain all the tastes and principles of civil independence, guarding their country alike from the despotism of a native army, or the aggression of a foreign enemy. But to a nation of more commercial tastes and habits, it would be one of the greatest burthens, perhaps, that could possibly be imposed. Venice, Holland, and Carthage, had in the days of their glory a mercenary force, so great, though they were brave, was their dislike to arms as a profession. And with us, who have no army to fear at home, and no aggression to apprehend from abroad, it would be difficult to find a more useless and odious, and (as it would be found to those whose time is more valuable than the pay of a soldier) a more expensive invention. (1)

I have thus passed, perhaps too hastily, over an immense system, the axis of which turning by a regular and uniform motion, brings to the army on a certain day its soldiers, to the national guard its officers, to the arrondissements and departments their councillors, to the communes their corporations, mayors, and adjuncts.

Take to pieces the machinery of this system, you will see, in spite of the symmetry of the whole, a vast diversity in the parts; some of which are of the most democratic, some of the most monarchical description.

No institution is so insignificant as not to be connected, in some way, with the crown; none so exclusive as not to offer the highest honours to the people. The mayor of the smallest commune is the king's officer, and the son of a butcher, in a field-marshal's uniform, is the chief officer in the royal palace.

It may be all very well to say that this is the same as in Turkey. There is as much difference between this and any thing that exists, or ever did exist in Turkey, as between any two things the most opposed; for the public spirit which prevails in

(1) Colonel Davies, late M.P. for Worcester, had some idea, I believe, of making the proposition.

France is in favour of intelligence and freedom, as the public spirit in Turkey is in favour of tyranny and ignorance. Besides, it is not the King who is all-powerful in France, but the King's government. Here is a difference that may alter every thing; for the government is responsible before a body, which, according to the meaning of the constitution, should be popularly elected, and in spite of which it cannot exist.

The improvements, indeed, that we may expect in modern legislation, lie in the proper combination of these two principles,—a great possibility of doing good, a strong check upon the power of doing evil.

It is to the chamber of deputies, then, that we have now to turn; and if that chamber be not what it ought to be, *there* is the place where we should propose alterations.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

CHAPTER XII.

Right of Election—Mode of electing—Eligibility—Proceedings of the Chamber—Laws and propositions—Constituency considered, and Chamber dissected.

We have been led by the last chapter to the consideration of the chamber of deputies.

I shall first state its formation, attributes, and usages, and then consider it in general relation with the government, and the system of which it forms a part.

RIGHT OF ELECTION.

Every Frenchman, aged twenty-five years, enjoying his civil and political rights, and paying 200 frs. of direct contributions, is an elector. (1)

(1) Officers in the army and navy, members and correspondents of the Institut, need only pay 100 frs.

Contributions counted as direct are the land tax, the personal and

The number of electors is ascertained by the following process, which answers to our registration :

From the first to the tenth of June the mayors of the different communes in their respective cantons meet in the chef-lieu of the canton, and there, with the aid of the collectors of the taxes, revise the list of the year preceding. This list is sent by the sub-prefect of the arrondissement with his observations to the prefect of the department before the first of July, who in his turn revises it, stating his reasons for the decisions he comes to; the list is then printed, and deposed at the mayoralty of every commune by the 15th of August; any claims then made are judged by the prefect in council, from whom there is no appeal but to a "cour royale," which however, is obliged to decide the case definitively, and *without expense*.

MODE OF ELECTING.

The chamber of deputies is composed of 459 deputies, (1) elected by 459 electoral colleges, each electing one deputy.

These colleges are convoked by the King, and in that town in the electoral arrondissement which he shall appoint; no discussion is allowed. (2)

The college elects its president and examiners, and the election commences. A list of the electors being fixed up in the place of election, the president calls on the electors by name, and each receives from him a piece of paper open; on this piece of paper he writes the name of the candidate he prefers, folds it up, and gives it back to the president, who puts it in a box placed by him for that purpose. (3)

furniture tax, the door and window tax, taxes on patents, and every tax levied under the title of "centimes additionnels."

(1) A deputy accepting a public office at home vacates his seat, but not until the reunion of the electoral college, by which he is to be re-elected.

A minister changing from one public office to another does not vacate his seat.

(2) No armed force can be in the neighbourhood unless demanded by the college itself.

(3) As the elector does this, an examiner takes down his name, as having voted.

The box remains open for six hours, and is closed at 3 o'clock in the evening, when its contents are immediately examined.

1. The number of papers is compared with the number of persons who have voted.

2. An examiner opens each piece of paper, and gives it to the president, who calls out the name inscribed on it.

The result is then made public, and the papers burnt.

A deputy, to be elected immediately, must unite one third of the total number of votes inscribed in the college, and one half of the votes taken in his favour.

If the scrutiny, having once taken place, does not produce this result, the bureau declares the two candidates who have got the most votes, and no other can then compete with them; the one who, on the next trial, has the bare majority is elected. (1) A college is opened for ten days; and every matter of dispute that occurs is taken down and submitted afterwards for decision to the chamber of deputies.

ELIGIBILITY.

To be eligible for the chamber, (2) the candidate must be thirty years of age, and pay 500frs. of direct taxes (equal to an income six times the amount). Half the deputies in a department must be chosen amongst those whose political residence is in that department. (3)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHAMBER.

At the commencement of every session, the chamber is divided by lot into nine bureaux, composed, as much as possible, of an equal number of members.

(1) Whenever there is an equal number of votes on this occasion, the eldest has the preference.

(2) Neither a prefect, a sub-prefect, nor a receiver-general, or a receiver of department, can be chosen deputy by the district in which he performs his functions. Neither general officers commanding divisions, nor procureurs-du-roi, nor procureurs-généraux, nor the directors of contributions, etc. can be elected within the sphere of their authority and jurisdiction; nor, if they quit such post, can they be eligible there till six months after the time of their having done so.

(3) When the contrary occurs, lots are drawn among the successful candidates.

Each bureau names its president and secretary. (1)

Each bureau discusses the question sent it by the chamber, and names a member to write a report of its opinion. When two-thirds of the bureaux declare themselves prepared, the reporters from each meet and discuss the questions amongst themselves, and then name a common reporter, who reports to the chamber twenty-four hours at least before the general discussion begins. (2)

For petitions there is a general commission, one member named by each bureau; it makes its report every week, in which is included the name and habitation of the petitioners as well as the object of their request.

Except in case of dissolution, the legislative measures begun in one session continue on in the stage in which they were left to the next.

The chamber is presided over by a president whom it chooses, and four vice-presidents.

LAWS AND PROPOSITIONS.

Every law proposed to the chamber by the King or the chamber of peers, after being read to the chamber is sent to the bureaux.

Every member who wishes to make a proposition must sign and depose it on the president's table, to be by him communicated to the different bureaux.

If three of these are of opinion it should be developed, it will be read at the next sitting, and the deputy will fix the day when he will speak upon it.

If then approved of, it will be printed and sent back again to the bureaux, which discuss and report upon it.

On all laws the vote is secret, on other propositions it is open, unless members demand the ballot.

Here then is the chamber of deputies, proceeding with much

(1) These bureaux are renewed every month.

(2) Besides these different bureaux, there are commissions: one for the budget, for instance, which is formed of thirty-six members, four being named by each bureau of the chamber.

There will be to this commission as many reporters as there are ministers, each reporting on the expense of a particular minister.

clearness and regularity in its proceedings, having in many of its forms—the institution of its bureaux for instance—much that we ourselves might do well to consider, if not to imitate—having, in the mode of its election also, the advantage of that ballot which we are here contending for, and which seems to be conducted with perfect safety and facility (1)—but only elected by persons who possess in property fifty pounds a-year —i. e. who pay 200 francs of direct taxes—a proportion of about 173-4 electors, in a country containing 32,500,000 inhabitants.

Whichever way we consider this, the result seems equally injudicious.

In the first place, the more power you confide in the executive government (and in France it appears necessary to confide a great deal of power to the executive government), the more popular ought to be the sources from which that government rises, and the more national the control by which its abuses are to be prevented and judged.

Secondly. The more places which a government has at its disposition, and the government of France has all over France places to dispose of—the wider you must extend a representation which should be beyond such influences.

Thirdly. The more property is diffused, and property is, as we have seen, most widely diffused in France, the more safely can you diffuse political power also.

Fourthly. As is the great bulk of the people, so ought to be the majority of the representatives; and yet by so confined a qualification, you give the towns, about one fifth of the population, a majority in the representation over the country where fortunes are more divided; in short, I see no kind of reason, except the shallow though plausible one, viz., that if there are only 173,185 electors, there are only 126,355 who present themselves for the exercise of this right.

To a chamber taken by a phrase, this reason would suffice; but to any person at all acquainted with the natural consequence of restricted and popular institutions, the argument used to show the inutility of extending the suffrage demonstrates its necessity. Men act greatly by sympathy and emulation, and only take an

(1) The small number of voters of course aids this.

interest in those affairs about which they see their neighbours bestirring themselves.

The more restricted, therefore, you make the right of election, the fewer will be the persons anxious to exercise their right of electors; and an unwarrantable apathy, in respect to public affairs, becomes the best argument against the system which produces it.

What then must be the consequences of a constitution which gives the greatest circumference to the government, and the narrowest basis to the constituency?

The following is an analysis of the existing chamber; which represents pretty correctly its condition:—

No. of votes at the last Elections in favour of		Deputies.
	37,966	216 juste-milieu.
	21,962	125 third party.
	4,005	25 legitimist party.
	16,184	95 extreme left (or liberal).
	80,117	
For persons not elected	46,216	
Total voed	126,333	
Did not vote	46,832	
Electors	173,165	

SOCIAL POSITION OF PERSONS RETURNED.

ADMINISTRATION.		MAGISTRATURE.
6	Ministers.	19 Presidents.
2	Secretaires généraux.	3 Avocats généraux.
2	Directeurs or inspecteurs généraux.	5 Procureurs généraux.
39	Mayors.	7 Procureurs-du-roi.
1	Adjunct.	26 Councillors.
50	Named by government.	8 Judges of civils tribunals.
37	members of councils general not named by government.	4 Justices of peace.
87		7 The court of accounts.
		17 Employed in the council of state.
		96 named by the government.

That is, named by government:

Administration	50	146
Magistrature	96	

ARMY.

1 Marshal of France.
15 Lieutenant-generals.
5 Camp-marshals.
7 Colonels.
5 Lieutenant-colonels.
2 Chiefs-of-battalion.
7 Captains.
5 Military Intendants.
1 Marine Prefect.
1 Captain of corvettes.
2 Engineers.

47 more or less under government influence. { 146 / 47 } ——195

COURT.

4 Aides-de-camp to the King.
1 Ordonance officer to the King.
4 Servants of the crown.

9 named by government. { 9 / 193 } ——202

4 Diplomacy.

Named by the government. { 4 / 202 } ——206

Advocates. Doctors. Men of Letters 55
Manufacturers Bankers. Notaries, etc. 45
Persons without any particular profession. . 118

Not named by government. ——216
Under government 206
Not under government 218

Such is the chamber!

Now, in speaking of the places which the government had to give away, I stated them, in the analysis to the first volume, at 55,000; this merely takes in the most considerable, since, small places and large places taken together, there are in the ministry of finance alone about 57,000.

Still, for every place to be given away, there are three persons at least who expect to obtain it, while there are not much more upon an average than three electors to each place:—a constituency then is easily bribed by expectations from its representative, and a representative, as we have seen, meets with his recompense from the minister.

Thus the body I have been considering is not what it should be—a fair check upon the executive authority—by being a fair representation of public opinion.

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER XIII.

Review of past work—The amalgamation of different effects proceeding from different causes—Modern France, the consequence of former history and recent institutions—Whether the equality sprung from one and coloured by the other is compatible with free government—The effects of centralization and of a small constituency—Monarchy of the middle classes as it is, as it might be.

My title was ambitious; I undertook a great task. Is it nearly completed?—Doubtless, much that I intended to say has been overlooked and forgotten! much remains to say for which neither time nor space are allowed me! and yet, reader, cast back your eyes over the road we have traversed—the view is an extensive one.

Behold again that Paris which we saw from yonder heights of *Père la Chaise*, crowded with bacchanalians, monks, cavaliers, and mobs!—the recollections of fifteen centuries!

Behold again that people so gay, so witty, so warlike, and so vain, whose brow is chronicled with centuries, and whose character is still in its youth.

Behold again those revolutions, amidst which passed away a solemn and brocaded court—a terrible and sanguinary republic —a glorious and conquering empire—a prosperous but misguided monarchy!

Look at the influences which have survived; the literature, the religion, the philosophies which exist; the manner in which the soil of France is divided; the social condition which the French people enjoy; the species of government under which they are placed!—Look, I say, at these things—and here is the point where we should regard them, not one by one, but as a whole;—and, combining the past with the present, try to comprehend a country motleyed by its manners, its laws, its history, its ideas!

We see a nation fond of change and of glory from character; attached to luxury and elegance from education; a soil almost agrarianly distributed—making of its cultivators a people of proprietors, and a people of equals; a government concentrated in the hands of an executive authority, responsible before two tribunals—of which it names one, and must find it easy, except in extraordinary crises, to corrupt the other; and a public opinion founded on abstract rights, and daily more and more inclining towards liberal institutions.

In all this we have, in much, to modify the results of one circumstance by the results of another: a nation fond of change may be given to violent revolutions; but a nation of proprietors is hostile to violent revolutions. A people of equals may depress talent as a distinction, and banish elegance as a vice: but a people glorious and luxurious honour Genius as a divinity, and give to Taste a temple among the Arts. A government concentrated in the hands of the executive authority, controlling the power which ought to control it, may become a despotism; —but a public opinion favourable to liberty, if restrained for a time by the fear of its own excesses, can never by any species of government be ultimately crushed. How shall I describe the amalgamation of so many opposing effects, springing from so many opposing causes?

Shall I say, that we find the popular feelings of the street

amidst the ancient habits of a court?—a terrible machinery for despotism amidst the modern sentiments of democracy?—Before us, perhaps, is the spectacle of a people whose manners have been formed under an absolute government, and whose opinions tend to a republican government.

Indeed, in turning back once again to the volumes I am concluding, their subject seems fairly enough divided, like they themselves have been, into two parts;—the one referring rather to the effects of nature and of former times, the other rather to the effects of recent institutions.

Proceeding from the first—were those influences, female, literary, and military, which have made the French frivolous, literary, warlike. Proceeding from the second is—that custom of succession, which, whether we look at literature or the press addressing themselves to all classes—to the state, taking into its bosom all religions—to society possessing neither grandees nor paupers—establishes on all sides, and in all things, an equality which, imbibing the colours of preceding circumstances, makes the French people what they are.

I say "imbibing the colours of preceding circumstances;" for simply to say that France is distinguished by the equality that reigns there, would not be sufficiently characterizing this peculiar nation.

That equality might exist elsewhere amongst simple tastes, as here it exists amongst ostentatious tastes,—or amongst peaceful desires, as here amongst warlike desires—or amongst local popular institutions, as here under a centralized administration—or amongst ideas favourable to despotism, as here amongst ideas bordering upon licence.

Whether for good or evil—that equality must remain; for it is based upon the two things most difficult to alter; the distribution of property, and the natural affections of the human heart. It has made the French a happy people; need it prevent them from being a free one? I say—it need not.

The centralized administration I have described may be favoured by it, but it is not caused by it. A people formed into a democracy may govern in their villages as in their capital. Of this America is an example.—If they do not wish to do so, it is less because they are a democracy now, than because they have not been a democracy long; if they ought not to do so, it is not

because they are equal amongst themselves, but because they are divided amongst themselves, and that a delegated authority from the whole of the empire is necessary to keep together its parts. Neither need such a system be necessarily, as I have elsewhere observed, one of despotism.

If the French ministry was the result of a majority of a chamber which represented the majority of the nation—that ministry, however powerful, would be merely the most efficient organ for working out the popular will. Nay, more; if the French ministry are not this—the same cause which gives a danger to the tendency of centralization, places in reality, though not perhaps in appearance, a check upon its power.

A strong government is not merely a strong administrative machine for governing the affairs of a people—it must be a strong administrative machine that governs the people as well as their affairs. Held and directed by the hands of one man, or of twenty men, it must descend, if I may use such comparison, into the nation, like the wheel of yonder vessel descends into the waters; there is the force of that mysterious engine—in those free and stormy waves!

A government, I say, must be popular to be strong, whatever the source whence that popularity springs.

Oh! but Bonaparte!

Bonaparte did not indeed appeal to his people, through electoral chambers, and liberal laws; such was not the genius of the man. He did not appeal to the reason—he appealed to the passions of the French, and the drum beating, and the tricolour flying, with victory in the van, all France followed his heels. If Bonapartes were common, charters would be waste paper.

A conqueror is beloved by a vain and martial race as long as he conquers; he has little to study but the fortunes of his sword. When kings too were anointed with a divine oil—the vice-regents of God upon earth—their authority was fixed in one of the deepest recesses of the human heart, and the distant barbarian worshipped the sovereign, whose sceptre was a scourge, as he did the god of the storm which devastated his plains.

It is passed—all this:—the most revered monarchs are but men; and another Bonaparte may perchance arise in five hundred years.

Besides, a nation cannot always be at war; and to govern an

active and intelligent people in peace, you must give a vent to their intelligence, a vent to their activity—that activity, that intelligence, should not be out of the government, or it will destroy the government—but within the government, where it will animate the government.

Why is the press formidable to the existing state of things? Because the press appeals to the whole country, and the constitution appeals to one person in every 11,850 throughout the country. Why is the police maintained? Because it is necessary to know what the nation is thinking and doing—and the national chamber can hardly be said to represent the nation. The most popular institution is put down, the most unpopular preserved, for the same reason. The strongest species of administration that can be invented is not strong, because it does not proceed from a sufficient number of those for whom it administers.

In summing up the whole system, then, I stand again before that great fault—a confined representation. It relieves the government from a salutary restraint, but it exposes the government to a continual danger: it gives the government the appearance of arbitrary power, and at the same time really cripples the government with just apprehension: it exposes the people to the suspicion of oppression, and the state to the fear of resistance.

Let us look at the restoration!

From 1815 to 1830 the course followed was—not to choose a ministry from the majority of an assembly which represented the nation, but to obtain a majority in that assembly for some favourite minister in spite of the nation.

Thus cabinet after cabinet sustained itself. The men who had been accidentally called to power were not to be changed on any account. No; if any thing was to be altered, some fundamental part of the constitution might just be remodelled for the day, so as to disarm their opponents. The representative body became a mere political plaything. Mark the consequence!

M. de Vilèlle for a long time maintained his majority. But what was that majority? a veil between him and the nation he governed. Even he himself was actually blinded by that veil; —for a small constituency has this double disadvantage—*it is*

not inaccessible to public opinion, while it deceives a minister as to the progress of that opinion.

What is in the nation reaches it at last—slowly, late, but it arrives. One morning the minister is in a minority in the chamber, which he has been accustomed to command; but this does not happen till he has been for years in a minority out of doors. Who then shall be his successor? a M. de Martignac—who cannot satisfy by concessions? a M. de Polignac—who cannot conquer by resistance? (1)

Still let us not exaggerate the evils which it is a duty to point out.

The monarchy of the midde classes, such as it exists in France, though susceptible of great improvements, is not a government (for the people to whom it is given) that can wisely be repudiated or justly despised. It has achieved, and, if continued, will more perfectly perpetuate, that which legislation long deemed impracticable.

I mean, a constitution containing no privileged class, and yet, in which the monarch is not a cypher and the people are not slaves.

Such is the government at present. If called upon to state what it might be with more advantage, I should describe something not wholly different, but which, giving greater solidity, perhaps majesty, to the throne, would give greater power to the people, greater independence and nationality to the chamber of peers.

I should say, in short, that the best government for France, without starting forth in quest of any of those extraordinary changes which are to produce theoretical perfection, would be *a popular and splendid monarchy, supported here by a national*

(1) But if a government is maintained by the army and the national guard! How is a government to know that it is supported by the army and the national guard? Because they do not resist it? But men whose duty it is to obey will not resist, except in the most urgent cases, and at the latest moment.

When they resist the government, then the government cannot resist them; and thus only learns that it is disapproved by a fortunate revolution which upsets it. Surely, the science of legislation should produce some more happy result than this.

army, there by a citizen guard—administered by a centralized administration, and having for coadjutors—a chamber of Peers elected from the superiorities of the country, which would represent, as it were, its moral interests; and a chamber of deputies, elected by a large constituency, which would represent its material interests.

Such a government would be consistent with the manners and the ideas I have described; it would make what belongs to old times compatible with the birth of new; and, by placing despotism under the legitimate control of a democracy, which now agitates society in opposition to the law, render possible the union of free institutions, with a confidence in the executive power.

Such a government would no doubt have its faults; but it would accord with all the predominant feelings of the French nation; and, at such a government, if the present dynasty be not overturned by some violent shock, it will—even in spite of itself—arrive.

POLICY OF PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER XIV.

The existing government in France a government of resistance, and why it is so—Considered as to where it should resist, and how resist—Has resisted open violence, popular representation, and the press—How far justifiable—Recent laws against the Press—How far wrong—Character of administration—Necessary policy of government.

HAVING spoken of the present state and probable prospects of the existing monarchy, I am called to the consideration of the policy by which it is now supported.

I confess that this subject is one of difficulty, and that I approach it with no common diffidence in my judgment—no common hesitation, let me add, in respect to publishing my opinions—since they differ very essentially, as well from the party by

whom the present French administration is attacked with unqualified violence, as from that party by which it is with equal violence defended.

The nature of all revolutions is to beget—however necessary they have been, and however sagely they may have been conducted—a tendency to revolutions; for men always imagine they can again attempt with success that which they have seen done in their own time with facility. It is equally certain that no country can prosper under a perpetual series of revolutions; it follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that the ministry which succeeds a revolution will be, by duty and position, more or less a ministry of resistance; or, as I said, nearly two years ago—"the life of a prince, sprung from a popular convulsion, will be almost always passed in struggling against popular concessions."

Indeed, if we look at that revolution in England with which the late French revolution has been frequently compared, we shall find that severe laws against liberty were not wanting under the government of a monarch, from whose accession to power notwithstanding our liberties spring.

It is idle, then, to expect what neither history warrants, nor human nature accords. Moreover, if revolutions were ever likely to have had enemies to oppose, and agitations to subdue, it was the revolution of July. The government founded on our revolution of 1688 rested in some sort on a religious enthusiasm; the government founded on *that* revolution of 1830 had *no enthusiasm* in its favour. The superstitions of old times, favourable to hereditary right, and of new times, inclined to impossible perfection, were equally against it. The present government in France, then, is, I repeat it, essentially and necessarily, what its defenders have frankly declared—*a government of resistance.* The only questions that can arise are, where it should resist?—how it should resist?

Open violence must of course be met by violence; but it is no small praise, and ought to be no small pride to the party which, through different men, has almost uninterruptedly ruled, that as yet—five years having elapsed—three rebellions having taken place—not a single political scaffold has recorded the triumph of a dominant faction.

There are not many such examples in all history!

The course of civil resistance adopted has displayed itself on two points—a refusal to extend the elective franchise beyond its present limits, and an attempt to restrict the press within narrower bounds than it was inclined to assign itself.

My own humble opinion in respect to the electoral law has been expressed, and I own that I deem a small constituency in a constitutional government a very great danger and a very great evil, inasmuch as that it places that government in a false position, and does not afford it the warning or the assistance it would derive from the popular sentiment having a more faithful organ of expression.

I own that I think some alteration ought to take place—*must*, at no distant time, take place on this subject. Still the government established in 1830, though not walking with rapidity, did make a great step even on this point beyond the government which preceded it; and the present constituency of about 175,000, however small, is more than double the constituency of about 80,000 to which it succeeded.

That the doctrinal administration should resist here for a time then—may be wrong in some of our opinions—is wrong in my opinion; but it hardly affords any just ground of violent reproach; for I am willing to admit that the result of nearly all revolutions (there are some exceptions) has been lost—when lost—by the principles on which they were founded having been carried out too suddenly and too far; and I also grant, that if there be any people in the world to whom freedom should be, if I may use the expression, cautiously measured out—it is that people, more than any other, volatile, capricious, prone to excess—amongst whom it is most necessary to create habits—and yet amongst whom habits are, with the most difficulty, created.

I come to the press, and the conduct, more especially within these few months, pursued towards it.

Now, as for the object which the government had in view by that conduct, it appears a legitimate one. The laws brought forward were professedly only aimed at these things,—to preserve the person of the sovereign from abuse, and the principle of the monarchy from assault.

A state owes it to its own dignity to preserve, if possible, its first magistrate from indecent lampoons, and it can hardly be blamed for sheltering, and, if necessary, defending, not the

manner in which the government is administered, but the principle on which it is founded. Resistance to the press in both these cases, then, would seem justifiable, if it were likely to attain its end by means justifiable also.

Here we arrive at that question—"*how should the government resist?*"

I said but a short time since, that the best defence for those who refuse to sanction immediate constitutional changes rests on this ground—that it is desirable above all things, for a people who, in fifty years, have never ceased changing every thing, to acquire at last, the habit, even if what exist is not the best, of conserving something.

But if change be undesirable, who should give the example of enduring inconvenience? The minister, who tells the people to pause before attempting to make their institutions yet more liberal, ought to be most careful in showing that he is as scrupulously determined not to make those institutions less liberal.

The rule, then, which should guide any administration in their resistance to alterations in the charter is—*the charter*. Now, there are some who think, by the laws lately passed, that this charter has been evaded in one instance, and violated in another. The evasion, they say, consists in giving the appellation of "high treason" to certain offences of the press, which are thus brought before the chamber of peers (forming a court in that peculiar instance), whereas the offences of the press were, by the constitution, expressly assigned to a jury: the violation, they say, consists in changing the constitution of the jury itself, which jury formerly voted openly and now votes secretly, which jury formerly condemned by a majority of four, and now condemns by a majority of one. I do not, for my own part, either adopt or defend any exaggerated party charges; still I cannot help thinking that any great fundamental alterations for a momentary object must be unwise, more especially when it is wished to keep the public mind in an even course within certain constitutional channels, which channels, if you dam them up for a time, will be afterwards dangerously overflowed. They unsettle and confound people's opinions also, and make them consider that nothing is sacred, or superior to the exigencies of the hour.

Besides, they have another evil. It is almost always necessary that they should be followed by measures of a similar

nature; for they create exaggerated suspicions which must be met by exaggerated defences and precautions, until a minister on one side, and a people on the other, are driven into a course contrary to the inclinations, the interests, and the intentions of either. (1)

It is on this account, indeed, that we should be more particularly regretful of late events; and here I speak, not merely as a man anxious for the prosperity of a fine and intelligent portion of the human race, but as an Englishman also anxious for the maintenance of that friendship between two nations—first at the present epoch of the world in arts and arms—whose alliance has afforded peace to Europe, and protection to the growth of liberal institutions in both countries.

That that alliance is chiefly one of opinion we well know; and

(1) This is a question of policy which should be well considered before we proceed to laws of repression.

Will they protect us?

To repress the *expression of opinion* is not to repress *opinion*.

There is a singular fact, to which, as it furnishes no mean argument of this, I call attention:

Under the empire the secret police cost.	789,000,000
Under the restoration from 1814, to 1818.	56.000,000
Afterwards, about	2,400,000
Under M. de Martignac	1,700,000

Thus, in almost an exact proportion with the silence imposed, was the watch which it was found necessary to maintain.

There is another consideration not to be forgotten. A minister should well penetrate himself with the spirit, and give to himself, as it were, the character and the nature of the government which he administers! A despotism, when it is attacked, acts with sense in being despotic; it is constituted expressly for such crises, and has all the power that is necessary for crushing every enemy, and stifling every cry. But a government of popular forms can never long depart from the principles on which it is founded: it may exercise a power foreign to its nature for a particular time, but that temporary power, given with reluctance, is too feeble to destroy the opposition which it silences. The road of violence in such governments, then, is short, and they who take it are almost sure to find the hostile passions which they drive before them in their march, collected and furious—where they pause.

yet some respectable English journals have been lately thought treasonable in France! Deeply then do I regret the circumstances which have caused this. But I would say nothing disrespectful of the ministry, from whose views in some respects I differ.

In those volumes published in 1834, I observed that this ministry would be difficult to replace; and the short administration of three days, which made its sudden appearance and disappearance last year, showed I was not mistaken.

It is formed of able, and intelligent, and conscientious men, the greater part of whose lives has been passed in struggling for those principles to which they now, I trust but for the moment, appear opposed;—opposed, however, not, I do believe, with any evil or tyrannical intention, but from a disgust at absurdities it were wiser to overlook, from a sudden dread of difficulties almost overcome, and also, perchance, from that impatience of character which they share with their countrymen in general, and which seems the national impediment to freedom and repose.

One there is more especially, born of the revolution of 1830, whose elevation fortune favoured, and who was endowed with many of those qualities which design the leaders for troublesome times. Assailed by the most atrocious calumnies that private envy could suggest, his talent broke through the jealous fetters that would have depressed it, and carried him at once to a high position in the country, of which he had studied the history, knew the character, and possessed, in his love of the arts, in his passion for glory, in his native eloquence and amiability, all the means of governing with success,—surrounded by a generous youth whose hearts he might have won, and whose ardour he might have moderated, admired by a monarch whose cultivated tastes were in sympathy with his own, and holding out the hand of good fellowship to the people from whose ranks he had sprung,—that minister might have been—I trust may yet be—precious to his country.

There are certain perils which governments, placed in a peculiar position, are forced to undergo; and the monarchy of July—chosen, in the heat of a revolution, from three parties—must expect the enmity of those whom it was preferred to, and of those whom it does not represent, Still it has one advantage: its duties are clearly pointed out; its position plainly deter-

mined. This monarchy has to preserve the honour of France with peace, the internal tranquillity of France with constitutional government. It stands as the representative of justice, moderation, legality, amidst the violence of contending passions and the tumult of perpetual crisis. *There is its glory, there its danger.* When reproached with its moderation, its love of peace and order, it is performing the task assigned to it—a task difficult, but honourable—and which, owing to the courage and the discretion of its defenders, it seemed at one moment certain of accomplishing.

But a government that wishes to perpetuate itself must, above all things, be faithful to its origin. One man wished to be an emperor among emperors, and he fell; for he was naturally the popular chief among a people of soldiers. Another man wished to be absolute monarch over a nation which had received him as its constitutional king, and he fell; for his charter was—his crown.

That charter, picked up from the pavement, where it had fallen, and blessed by a new sanction, was again placed—a popular diadem—upon the head of a monarch, justly chosen for his citizen-like virtues, his probity, his firmness, his regard for his duties and engagements. Elected by the multitude who had conquered, he was consecrated by the press for which they had fought.

His lot is to conciliate his power with the causes of his power. That he will do so is the belief—that he may do so is the prayer of one who, no wrangler for theoretical perfection, no advocate for successive changes, deems that, having once been chosen sovereign, the continuance of his reign is best adapted to the prosperity of his country and the general interests of civilization and mankind.

Placed on the French throne, the head of the house of Orleans carried there many of the qualities of a great prince; prudent, eloquent, instructed, courageous, he has the prospect of leaving a dynasty in repose, beneath the protecting shadow of an illustrious name.

Yet is there no foundation for our affairs in desperate courses. Public as well as private life has an usurious policy—which, to satisfy the emergencies of the instant, borrows too largely from the times that will come.

Let all ministers beware of this policy! It saves for the moment, but it ruins in the end, and is equally unworthy of a people who love freedom, and of a monarchy which, with the aid of time and Providence, is well calculated to couple liberty with order.

POSTSCRIPT.

CHAPTER XV.

Two comparisons between France and England.

And now, France disappearing from our view, as I turn, not unwillingly homewards, it may not be incurious to enter, though but cursorily, into certain comparisons that this work suggests:—i. e. to consider how far England and France resemble one another at this moment;—what period in French history admits the semblance of a parallel with that which will soon be English history, and is at this time passing before us.

At the present moment there can be no doubt that it would be impossible to find two countries, which, with institutions apparently similar, are so entirely different as those I have just mentioned. This is easily accounted for—the character and history of the two people are different, and the distribution of property amongst them is also totally different. On these three things, which fashion society and social habits, the movement, if not the form, of government depends. There is liberty and a powerful aristocracy in one country—a powerful aristocracy will never submit to slavery;—there is equality and a democracy in the other—a democracy will never tolerate privileges. Money and birth are respected here; power and talent there. The law does in point of fact and practice subject the poor man to the rich man in England; the law does in point of fact and practice subject the individual to the governing authority in France. In either case the theory of the law would not do this. In France, too, the lower classes have property, and are tranquil

and independent; the higher are comparatively poor and servile. Talent, whether in arms, or literature, or through the press, governs both. In England, the lower class is daring, factious, and intelligent—the higher, prejudiced, but high principled, and certainly not meanly avid of power: a middle order running between them has hitherto kept these two extremes together.

In France, again, you meet the government every where—the gendarme—the prefect—the police. In England all your affronts and annoyances come from individuals—the great man elbows you, the pauper taxes you, the pickpocket plunders you. On one side of the channel the great man takes off his hat to the government, and asks for a place, but he calls his valet "his friend," (1) and would not refuse to fight a duel with his "decorated" coachman. On the other side of the channel, the great man snaps his fingers at the government, sends the poacher to prison for a pheasant, and pays respect to nothing, save some greater man than he is, viz. somebody better born or wealthier.

Much of this will no doubt alter with time in both countries: nor is it difficult to feel, as I write, that we breathe the quiet air of great but healthy changes.

This brings me to consider what foundation there exists for that other comparison, not rarely made, between the period in France of 1789, and that of England in 1835.

In 1789 there was in France a nobility much indebted, too prone to idleness and dissipation, far alienated by haughty and exclusive habits from the provincial influence it had once possessed, but proud, courageous, unwilling to take a place in the new society which had grown up above it; lower than that which its ancestors occupied in the old society they overshadowed—a nobility which, in the days of its power, menaced the authority—in the days of its decay lived upon the bounty, and in the hour of its unpopularity clung to the protection, of the crown.

At this period also there was in France a middle class rising, rich, ambitious, and disgusted at the pride of an order whose privileges had lost their charm.

(1) "Mon ami!"

An active race taken from all classes, save the aristocracy, and who, eager for employment, found in the army, in the church, in the colonies, in politics in general, that the road was obstructed to all but the peculiar set they did not belong to.

A people without property, and from a variety of circumstances (those which are operating in England, are different from those which had been operating in France) utterly without attachment to the possessors of the soil.

A church, independent of the state, with immense funds most unequally distributed—furnishing a worldly provision to the aristocracy, rather than a spiritual comfort to the people.

Corporations that had outlived their purposes, already attacked in principle and but weakly defended, even by the patrons of existing things.

A public opinion strongly in favour of changes amongst the great masses of the nation, and a public opinion as strongly against innovation amongst the fashionable circles of society.

In the royal family—one prince an advocate of liberal principles (the Comte de Provence); another forming secret societies in the army (le comte d'Artois).

In the senate—a nobility defending itself by a distinguished and eloquent man sprung from the people (Casalès); a people assailing that nobility, and headed by the great aristocracy of the land—(the Montmorencys, Noailles, Lafayettes, Mirabeaus, Périgords).

So far some persons might fancy they traced a likeness; but, as we advance further, all resemblance disappears; for France had not a prudent monarch brought up in constitutional principles, nor a sober-charactered people, who had received a long political education, nor a bold and intelligent minister, equally remarkable for the sagacity of his views and his frank and manly manner of carrying them into execution.

Yet, if our comparisons fail, we shall have found in their pursuit two important lessons, really coinciding, if apparently opposed.

The one—that no class can stand against the liberal intelligence of its time:

The other—that a people adopting false and exaggerated notions of liberty may delay for a century the real enjoyment of it.

APPENDIX.

PRESS.

CHANGES IN RESPECT TO POST OFFICE.

I hoped to be able, when I referred to the Appendix, to mention that some change had already been effected. Such, however, is not the case; the matter rests where it did two years ago; but a Bill is before the House, which, if carried, will make some important alterations, evincing, in the meantime, the government's favourable disposition. Since the article on the Press was written and printed, slight alterations have taken place, such, for instance, as the suppression of the "Tribune."

I here give all the laws regulating the Press prior to the last, which, as I trust, a temporary and exceptional one, I have placed apart at the end.

LOI

Sur le Cautionnement, le Droit de timbre, et le Port des Journaux ou Ecrits périodiques.

Paris, le 14 Décembre 1830.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Roi des Français, à tous présens et à venir, salut.

Les Chambres ont adopté, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit :

Article 1. — Si un journal ou écrit périodique paraît plus de deux fois par semaine, soit à jour fixe, soit par livraison et régulièrement, le cautionnement sera de deux mille quatre cents francs de rente.

Le cautionnement sera égal aux trois quarts du taux fixé, si le journal ou écrit périodique ne paraît que deux fois par semaine.

Il sera égal à la moitié, si le journal ou écrit périodique ne paraît qu'une fois par semaine.

Il sera égal au quart, si le journal ou écrit périodique paraît seulement plus d'une fois par mois.

Le cautionnement des journaux quotidiens publiés dans les départemens autres que ceux de la Seine et de Seine-et-Oise sera de huit cents francs de rente dans les villes de cinquante mille âmes et au-dessus, de cinq cents francs de rente dans les autres villes, et respectivement de la moitié de ces deux rentes pour les journaux ou écrits périodiques qui paraissent à des termes moins rapprochés.

Le gérant responsable du journal devra posséder en son propre et privé nom la totalité du cautionnement.

S'il y a plusieurs gérans responsables, ils devront posséder en leur propre et privé nom, et par portions égales, la totalité du cautionnement.

Il est accordé aux gérans responsables des journaux qui auront déposé leur cautionnement à l'époque où la présente loi sera promulguée, un délai de six mois pour se conformer à ses dispositions.

La partie du cautionnement déjà fournie, qui excède le taux ci-dessus fixé, sera remboursée.

Article 2. — Le droit de timbre fixe ou de dimension, sur les journaux ou écrits périodiques, sera de six centimes pour chaque feuille de trente décimètres carrés et au-dessus, et de trois centimes pour chaque demi-feuille de quinze décimètres carrés et au-dessous.

Tout journal ou écrit périodique imprimé sur une demi-feuille de plus de quinze décimètres et de moins de trente décimètres carrés, paiera un centime en sus pour chaque cinq décimètres carrés.

Il ne sera perçu aucune augmentation de droit pour fraction au-dessous de cinq décimètres carrés.

Il ne sera perçu aucun droit pour un supplément qui n'excèdera pas trente décimètres carrés, publié par les journaux imprimés sur une feuille de trente décimètres carrés et au-dessus.

La loi du 13 vendémiaire an VI et l'article 89 de la loi du 15 mai 1818, sont et demeurent abrogés.

La loi du 6 prairial an VII est abrogée en ce qui concerne le droit de timbre sur les journaux ou feuilles périodiques.

Article 3. — Le droit de cinq centimes fixé par l'article 8 de la loi du 15 mars 1827, pour le port sur les journaux et autres feuilles trans-

portés hors des limites du département dans lequel ils sont publiés, sera réduit à quatre centimes.

Les mêmes feuilles ne paieront que deux centimes toutes les fois qu'elles seront destinées pour l'intérieur du département où elles auront été publiées.

Article 4. — Les journaux imprimés en langues étrangeres et ceux venant des pays d'outre-mer seront taxés au maximum du tarif établi pour les journaux français.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée, et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejourd'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'État.

Donnons en mandement à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer, et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le quatorzième jour du mois de Décembre, l'an 1830.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Vu, et scellé du grand sceau : Par le Roi,

Certifié conforme par nous,

Garde des sceaux de France, Ministre Secrétaire d'État au département de la justice,

Dupont (de l'Eure.)

A Paris, le 15 Décembre 1830.

LOI

Sur la Procédure en matière de Délits de la Presse, d'affichage et de cirage.

A Paris, au Palais Royal, le 18 avril 1831.

Louis-Philippe, Roi des Français, à tous présens et à venir, salut.

Les Chambres ont adopté, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit :

Article 1. — Le ministère public aura la faculté de saisir les cours d'assises de la connaissance des délits commis par la voie de la presse, ou par les autres moyens de publication énoncés en l'article 1 de la loi du 17 mai 1819, en vertu de citation donnée directement au prévenu.

La même faculté existera en cas de poursuites contre les afficheurs et crieurs publics, en exécution des articles 5 et 6 de la loi du 10 décembre 1830.

Article 2. — Le ministère public adressera son réquisitoire au président de la cour d'assises, pour obtenir indication du jour auquel le prévenu sera sommé de comparaître.

Il sera tenu d'articuler et de qualifier les provocations, attaques, offenses, outrages, faits diffamatoires ou injures, à raison desquels la poursuite est intentée, et ce, à peine de nullité de la poursuite. Le président fixera le jour de la comparution devant la cour d'assises, et commettra l'huissier qui sera chargé de la notification.

La notification du réquisitoire et de l'ordonnance du président sera faite au prévenu dix jours au moins avant celui de la comparution, outre un jour par cinq myriamètres de distance.

Si le prévenu ne comparaît pas au jour fixé, il sera jugé par défaut : la cour statuera sans assistance ni intervention de jurés, tant sur l'action publique que sur l'action civile.

Article 3. — Le prévenu pourra former opposition à l'arrêt par défaut dans les cinq jours de la notification qui en aura été faite à sa personne ou à son domicile, outre un jour par cinq myriamètres de distance, à charge de notifier son opposition tant au ministère public qu'à la partie civile.

Le prévenu supportera sans recours les frais de l'expédition et de la signification de l'arrêt par défaut, et de l'opposition, ainsi que de l'assignation et de la taxe des témoins appelés à l'audience pour le jugement de l'opposition.

Article 4. — Dans les cinq jours de la notification de l'opposition, le prévenu devra déposer au greffe une requête tendant à obtenir du président de la cour d'assises une ordonnance fixant le jour du jugement de l'opposition; elle sera signifiée à la requête du ministère public, tant au prévenu qu'au plaignant, avec assignation au jour fixé, cinq jours au moins avant l'échéance. Faute par le prévenu de remplir les formalités mises à sa charge par le présent article, ou de comparaître par lui-même au jour fixé par l'ordonnance, l'opposition sera réputée non avenue, et l'arrêt par défaut sera définitif.

Article 5. — Dans le cas de saisie autorisée par l'article 7 de la loi du 26 mai 1819, les formes et délais prescrits par cette loi seront observés.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des

Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejourd'hui sera exécutée comme loi de l Etat.

Donnons en mandement à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8ème jour du mois d'avril, l'an 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Vu et scellé du grand sceau : Par le Roi :

Le Garde des sceaux de France, ministre secrétaire d'Etat au département de la justice,

Barthe.

LOI

Sur le cautionnement des Journaux ou Ecrits périodiques, paraissant même irrégulièrement.

A Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8 avril 1831.

Louis-Philippe, Roi des Français, à tous présens et à venir, salut.

Les Chambres ont adopté, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit :

Article 1. — Si un journal ou écrit périodique paraît plus de deux fois par semaine, soit à jour fixe, soit par livraisons et irrégulièrement, le cautionnement sera de deux mille quatre cents francs de rente.

Article 2. — Le premier paragraphe de l'article 1 de la loi du 14 décembre 1830 est abrogé.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée, et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejourd'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

Donnons en mandement à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer, et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera: et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8ème jour du mois d'avril, l'an 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Vu et scellé du grand sceau : Par le Roi :

Le garde des sceaux de France, ministre secrétaire d'État au département de la justice, BARTHE.

LOI

Sur les crieurs publics.

A Paris, au palais des Tuileries, le 16 février 1834.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, ROI DES FRANÇAIS, à tous présens et à venir, SALUT.

Les Chambres ont adopté, NOUS AVONS ORDONNÉ et ORDONNONS ce qui suit :

ARTICLE 1. — Nul ne pourra exercer, même temporairement, la profession de crieur, de vendeur ou de distributeur sur la voie publique, d'écrits, dessins ou emblèmes imprimés, lithographiés, authographiés, moulés, gravés, ou à la main, sans autorisation préalable de l'autorité municipale.

Cette autorisation pourra être retirée.

Les dispositions ci-dessus sont applicables aux chanteurs sur la voie publique.

ARTICLE 2. — Toute contravention à la disposition ci-dessus sera punie d'un emprisonnement de six jours à deux mois pour la première fois, et de deux mois à un an en cas de récidive. Les contrevenans seront traduits devant les tribunaux correctionnels, qui pourront, dans tous les cas, appliquer les dispositions de l'article 463 du Code pénal.

La présente loi discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejourd'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

DONNONS EN MANDEMENT à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au palais des Tuileries, le 16ème jour du mois de février, l'an 1834. *Signé* LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Vu et scellé du grand sceau : Par le Roi :

Le Garde des sceaux de France, ministre Secrétaire d'État au département de la justice, BARTHE.

NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS IN PROPORTION TO INHABITANTS.

ONE PAPER TO INHABITANTS.

The Globe	230,000
Asia	14,400,000
Africa	5,000,000
Oceana	2,200,000
Europe	106,000
America	40,000

STATES OF EUROPE.

Spain	869,000
Russia and Poland	674,000
Sardinia	540,000
Austrian Empire	367,471
Portugal Grand Duchy of Tuscany	210,000
Confederation of Switzerland	66,000
France	52,117
Sweden and Norway	47,000
Britannic Isles	48,800
Germanic Confederation	44,000
Prussian Monarchy	43,070
Low Countries	40,953

TOWNS.

Rome	51,000
Madrid	50,000
Lisbon	21,670
Vienna	11,338
Petersburg	10,667
Geneva	6,250
Berlin	4,074
Paris	3,739
Brussels	3,030
Stockholm	2.600
Leipsic, Weimar, Jena	1,100
London	11,250 (*)

(*) M. A. Balbi.

RELIGION.

"On avait séduit la France," says M. de Châteaubriand, "en lui disant que le christianisme était un culte né du sein de la barbarie, absurde dans ses dogmes, ridicule dans ses cérémonies, ennemi des arts et des lettres, de la raison et de la beauté; un culte qui n'avait fait que verser le sang, enchaîner les hommes, et retarder le bonheur et les lumières du genre humain: on devait donc chercher à prouver, au contraire, que de toutes les religions qui ont jamais existé, la religion chrétienne est la plus *poétique*, la plus humaine, la plus favorable à la liberté, *aux arts et aux lettres;* que le monde moderne lui doit tout, depuis l'agriculture jusqu'aux sciences abstraites; depuis l'hospice pour les malheureux, jusqu'aux temples bâtis par Michel-Ange, et décorés par Raphaël. On devait montrer qu'il n'y a rien de plus divin que sa morale; rien de plus aimable, de plus pompeux que ses dogmes, sa doctrine, et son culte: on devait dire qu'elle favorise le génie, *épure le goût*, développe les passions vertueuses, donne de la vigueur à la pensée, offre des formes nobles à l'écrivain, et des moules parfaits à l'artiste; qu'il n'y a point de honte à croire avec Newton et Bossuet, Pascal et Racine: enfin il fallait appeler tous les enchantemens de l'imagination, et tous les intérêts du cœur au secours de cette même religion contre laquelle on les avait armés."—*Génie du Christianisme*, p. 10, 11. vol. I.

ALL PASSAGES OR WORDS NOT TRANSLATED IN THE TEXT WILL BE FOUND AMONG THE FOLLOWING:—

THE PRESS.

Page 31.—The Jesuits with short gowns—The Seids of power.

Page 38.—The temple of the Newspaper Office.

The responsibility of the National rests, from this day, entirely upon my head; if any man shall indulge himself in gross abuse of that paper, he will find one who will call him to an account.

RELIGION.

Page 54.—His most christian majesty.

Page 54.—The Stag-Park.

Page 59.—The Church Party—and the self-styled Royalist Party.

Page 61.—Down with the Jesuits.

Page 63.—But he is a Methodist, is he not?

Well, I will tell you what passed between him and me.

You are a Protestant, I suppose, Sir?

No, Sir, I am no Protestant.

You are no Protestant, and no Catholic; are you then a Mahometan or a Jew?

No, I am neither Protestant, Catholic, Mahometan, or Jew.

What religion are you of then?

Sir, I profess the religion of Socrates.

Well, will you believe me? this member of your House of Commons appeared much shocked.

Page 66.—A box at the theatre, obscured from public view by railing.

Page 67.—A cassock.

Page 72.—The Clergy under Oath, of 1789.

The Clergy of the Romish party.

The late dispute between M. de la Mennais and the Pope deprived him, no doubt, in some degree, of that title of which he was formerly ostentatious.

Page 73.—"The Words of a Believer," by the Abbé de la Mennais.

PROTESTANTISM.

Page 78.—Mixed Churches.

Page 79.—A district town.

Page 80.—Deacons.

Page 84.—The pastors and deputies of the churches, present at Paris, at the sitting of the religious associations, and met in a brotherly conference on Wednesday, April 24, 1833, in the hall of the consistory of the Church of the Oratory, unanimously agreed:

1st. That, henceforth, in each year, on the day of General Assembly of the Biblical Society, at 9 o'clock in the morning, the co-pastors of the National Churches of the two Evangelical Congregations, and the lay-deputies of the said churches, shall meet in brotherly conference.

2ndly. That these conferences shall commence with solemn prayer.

3rdly. That the sitting shall continue under the Presidency of the Dean by seniority of the pastors, by the nomination by secret ballot of a President and a Secretary, who shall immediately enter on their functions.

4thly. That these sittings shall re-commence daily at the same hour.

5thly. That the verified report of conferences shall be lithographed, or printed, and be transmitted to all the churches, and to all the pastors throughout France.

6thly. That the pastors of the two congregations of Paris shall form a committee of correspondence with the consistories and pastors, shall give them information of the present resolutions, and shall prepare, as far as possible, the documents and subjects for discussion.

NEW PHILOSOPHIES.

Page 93.—Letters to the board of longitude.

Letters on the *Encyclopédie*.

An introduction to the scientific works of the nineteenth century.

"Memoirs" upon Gravitation.

Page 98.—The theory of the four movements.

Page 101.—O my contemporaries! I see you all in search of a religion, neither for yourselves, nor for your immediate posterity; but each day, in your reveries, the word religion hangs upon your lip.

DIVISOIN OF PROPERTY.

Page 110.—The custom of fallows was formerly general in Normandy, but it is every day passing away. At the beginning of this century, this custom might be esteemed, for the department in general, to extend over only half the soil it extended over in 1790 and 92, and now it is only seen in one tenth of the land consecrated to cultivation.—*M. Lorid.*

Page 122.—To the War Office.

Page 123.—Note.—The division of landed estates, which has taken place in every quarter of the kingdom, has caused an independence more uniformly diffused; it has given the means for wealth and health to numerous families which partook not of them at any earlier period. Moreover, the new channels of industry have given work to many artisans and labourers.

On the Productive and Commercial Means.

In contemplating the rapid progress which France has made in agriculture.

Page 134.—Each of us could, more or less easily, fulfil a task, easy for the government, more difficult for individuals, not indeed for the whole of France, but for some particular spot, which, once known, would lead to an appreciation of the rest.

* * * * * *

I have done it, Gentlemen, in part for the arrondissement, which is more particularly known to me, and in the prosperity of which grati-

tude, and all the sentiments of nature, command me to feel a more particular interest.

With a small exception, all the inhabitants are proprietors. The love of property is pushed to its greatest extent; among the fathers of families and among their children among the rich, and among the poor, it is the prevailing want and sentiment of all.

* * * * *

The equal partition of successions is the most common and general rule; there, as in the great majority of the other arrondissements of France, the persons at their ease dispose rarely of the share at their disposition. The examples of it are few. I know none near me in any class of society, the peasants excepted; and with these it is not the whole "préciput" which they dispose of, but this or that piece of land; not from any habitual preference in favour of the eldest, but more often from gratitude to that one of their children who has remained near them, partaken of their labours, and taken care of their age.

Well, in that arrondissement—*instead* of the *division of property having increased* within the last twelve years, property has agglomerated.

In 1815, the number of persons paying the tax were forty-two thousand and some hundreds; in 1825, by a diminution, gradual and successive, this figure is reduced to about forty thousand. So that the agglomeration in ten years has been about two thousand proprietors or about two-fortieths.

I do not pretend that it is thus in every arrondissement in the kingdom; nevertheless, all the other isolated information, which others of my colleagues have had the kindness to show me, are far from contrary to the example which I have just been citing.—*D. Decazes.*

Page 136.—In the Lower Pyrenees, the law of inheritance is readily followed out in the customary division of paternal lands—and there is but little parcelling out of estates.

The parcelling out is caused by the desire of each child inheriting, to have a portion of each description of land.

Page 138.—When I inhabited the ports of Flanders, and more especially those of Provence, I was always astonished to hear the people of the country distinguish the persons born in the centre of France, calling them "Francists" and treating them as strangers.... When in 1825 and 1826, I occupied myself with procuring, from the working-classes of our departments, the most simple elements of the sciences, applied to the arts, I fell into an astonishment, from which I can hardly yet return,

in seeing, that on all the points of our immense frontiers, at Bayonne as at Dunkerque, at Strasbourg, at Quimper, at Montpellier as at Mulhouse, one of the greatest obstacles that the professors had encountered, was in the difficulty they had to make intelligible the French language, so expressive and correct, to men who can only think with facility by the aid of strange idioms and a barbarous patois.— *Ch. Dupin.*

Page 159.—Even already, said M. Pasquier, consequences resulting therefrom have arisen in that country (England), which imperatively demand the attention of legistators and statesmen. Whoever does not shut his eyes to all the chances of afflictions, with which the manufacturing classes are constantly menaced, must necessarily contemplate with uneasiness the future possible fate of so considerable a mass of the population, whom a disastrous war, or a successful rivalry, may deprive suddenly of the greater part of their means of support.

Page 159.—With a greater division of property the spirit of the proprietors necessarily spreads itself into a greater portion of society.— *M. Pasquier.*—Or, With a greater numerical amount of properties, the character which belongs to a proprietor is necessarily shared by a greater portion of the people.

Page 161.—Ah! it is too evident that those laws were made by fathers, who, in passing them, thought only of maintaining their own authority, and lost sight of their parental affection.

MANNERS.

Page 166.—Note.—My drawing-room again had its crowds, and I once more had the pleasure of conversation, in Paris, which, I confess, was always, to me, the most captivating of all.

Page 169.—Monsieur ——, with much gesticulation, and uttering loud outcries from his bench.

Page 170.—Here the President rings his bell.—At this moment the chamber is in confusion.

Page 173.—His voice, which more than once had carried terror to the palace whence it had cast out tyranny, might carry terror also to the souls of those traitors who desired to substitute their tyranny in place of the monarchy.

Page 174.—Yes, a fine school of anatomy.

Page 175.—Oh! the charming little man, as he was! How white his teeth, like pearls; small—yes, small—delicate hands—perfumed! How elegant the little man was—and how great an eater!

Page 176.—At all events I can continue Julia and my phaeton.

But what is the matter with him? He adores Adela—What fine children!—and why did not they tell me of it!—She will not return again until it is over—All will be soon well.

Page 179.—Poor fellow! down he fell, dead!

Page 181.—The poor Princess gave such fine balls.

Conjugal virtue. Virtue, in a married woman, is to continue attached to her lover even though he is disagreeable to her.

YOUNG FRANCE.

Page 194.—Head of hair.

SOCIALS TATE.

Page 211.—Nevertheless estates in possession, which form the grants for support of hereditary titles, which the Emperor shall have made to a Prince, or to the head of a family, must be transmitted to the heir [as an entailed estate.]

Page 216.—We did not wish to burden the country with eighty thousand tyrants, but only three hundred individuals, whom we wished to invest with high functions. That was all.

Page 216.—The gods we have at present are Science and Art; we are excited in the theatres and the court as we once were in the churches: the heart which formerly was obedient to priests, we now consecrate entirely to philosophers and poets.

STATE OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

Page 223.—The poor's rate was raised compulsorily.

Page 233.—That France has the blessing of not being distracted by those dissensions which, in other countries, cause discord betwixt the workmen and the manufacturers who employ them.

EQUALITY.

Page 235.—All men are equal and free from their birth; no one has a greater right than others to employ his natural or acquired talents; this privilege, partaken by all, is alone limited by the conscience of the man exercising it, which forbids him to make any use of it to the detriment of his fellow-men.

LAW CONSTITUTING THE PEERAGE OF THE MONARCHY OF THE REVOLUTION.

29th December, 1831.

Louis-Philippe, King of the French, to all present and to come, *salut!*

Page 217. — The President of the Chamber of Deputies and other legislative assemblies.

The Deputies who shall have been named in three different Parliaments, and who shall, for six years, have exercised their functions.

The Marshals and Admirals of France.

The Lieutenants-General and Vice-Admirals of the armies of land and sea, after two years' rank.

The Ministers of any Department.

Ambassadors after three years' and Ministers Plenipotentiaries after six years' functions.

Councillors of State, after ten years of ordinary service.

The Prefects of Departments or of marine situations—after six years' service.

Colonial Governors after five years' exercise of their functions.

The Members of General Councils formed by election, after three elections to the presidency.

The Mayors of towns, of thirty thousand souls and above, after two elections, at least, as members of the municipal body, and after five years' performance of the functions of mayoralty.

The Presidents of the Court of Cassation and of the Court of Accounts.

The Procureurs-Généraux to these two courts, after five years' service in this quality.

The counsellors of the Court of Cassation, and the *conseillers-maîtres* of the Court of Accounts, after five years.

The Avocats-Généraux to the Court of Cassation, after ten years, exercise of their duties.

The Premiers-Présidents of the Cours Royales, after five years of magistracy in their courts.

The Procureurs-Généraux to the same courts, after ten years' functions.

The Presidents of the Tribunals of Commerce, in the towns of thirty thousand souls and above, after four nominations to these functions.

The titulary members of four academies of the Institut.

The citizens to whom, either by any law or on account of eminent services, there shall have been given a national recompense.

All proprietors or heads of any manufacture, or any commercial house, paying 3,000 francs of direct contributions, either on account of their landed property during three years, or on account of their patents during five years, when they shall have belonged for six years to a chamber of commerce of a "conseil-général."

Proprietors, manufacturers, traders, or bankers, paying 3,000 francs of imposition, who shall have been named Deputies or Judges of the Tribunals of Commerce, *can be admitted at once as peers without any other condition.*

The Titularies who shall have successively exercised the functions above mentioned, can add up their services in all their different branches of employment, in order to complete the time necessary to their elevation.

There shall be dispensed from the time of employment required by the paragraphs 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17, above mentioned, the citizens who shall have been named in the year following the 30th July, 1830, to the functions announced in these paragraphs; also dispensed in the same manner until the 7th January 1837, from the time of employment required by the paragraphs 3, 11, 12, 21, the named or maintained since 30th July, 1830, in the functions announced in these five paragraphs.

These conditions of eligibility can be modified into a law.

The ordinances among peers shall be individual. The ordinances shall mention the services and state, the titles on which the nomination shall be founded.

In future, no salary, no pension, no donation, shall be attached to the dignity of peer.

The Present Law discussed, deliberated, and adopted by the chamber of Peers, and by that of the Deputies, and sanctioned by us this day, shall be executed as a law of the State.

L. Philippe.

Palace of the Tuileries, 29th Dec. 1831.

LOI SUR LA PRESSE.

(1) *Loi du* 17 *mai* 1819, *art.* 1^er^. "Quiconque, soit par des discours, des cris ou menaces proférés dans des lieux ou réunions publics, soit par des écrits, des imprimés, des dessins, des gravures, des peintures, ou emblèmes vendus ou distribués, mis en vente, ou exposés dans des lieux ou réunions publics, soit par des placards et affiches exposés aux regards du public, aura provoqué l'auteur ou les auteurs de toute action qualifiée crime ou délit à la commettre, sera réputé complice et puni comme tel."

(2) *Code pénal, art.* 86. "L'attentat contre la vie ou contre la personne du roi est puni de la peine du parricide. — L'attentat contre la vie ou contre la personne des membres de la famille royale est puni de la peine de mort. — Toute offense commise publiquement envers la personne du roi sera punie d'un emprisonnement de six mois à cinq ans, et d'une amende de cinq cents francs à dix mille francs; le coupable pourra en outre être interdit de tout ou partie des droits mentionnés en l'article 42, pendant un temps égal à celui de l'emprisonnement auquel il aura été condamné. Ce temps courra à compter du jour où le coupable aura subi sa peine."

Art. 87. "L'attentat dont le but sera, soit de détruire, soit de changer le gouvernement ou l'ordre de successibilité au trône, soit d'exciter les citoyens ou habitans à s'armer contre l'autorité royale, sera puni de mort.

(3) *Loi du* 17 *mai* 1819, *art.* 9. "Quiconque par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'article 1^er^ de la présente loi se sera rendu coupable d'offenses envers la personne du roi, sera puni d'un emprisonnement qui ne pourra être de moins de six mois, ni excéder cinq années, et d'une amende qui ne pourra être au-dessous de 500 fr., ni excéder 10,000 fr. —Le coupable pourra en outre être interdit de tout ou partie des droits mentionnés en l'art. 42 du Code pénal, pendant un temps égal à celui de l'emprisonnement auquel il aura été condamné. Ce temps courra à compter du jour où le coupable aura subi sa peine." Voir ci-après (6).

(4) *Loi du* 29 *novembre* 1830, *art.* 1^er^: "Toute attaque par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'article 1^er^ de la loi du 17 mai 1819, contre la dignité royale, ordre de successibilité au trône, les droits que le roi tient du vœu de la nation française, exprimé dans la déclaration du 7 août 1830, et de la Charte constitutionnelle, par lui acceptée et jurée dans la séance du 9 août de la même année, son autorité constitutionnelle, l'inviolabilité de sa personne, les droits et l'autorité des Chambres, sera punie d'un emprisonnement de trois à cinq ans, et d'une amende de

trois cents francs à six mille francs."—Art. 2 : "L'article 2 de la loi du 25 mars 1822 est et demeure abrogé."

(5) *Loi du 17 mai 1819, art.* 8 : "Tout outrage à la morale publique et religieuse ou aux bonnes mœurs, par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'art. 1er, sera puni d'un emprisonnement d'un mois à un an et d'une amende de 16 fr. à 500 fr."

(6) *Code pénal, art.* 42 : "Les tribunaux, jugeant correctionnellement, pourront, dans certains cas, interdire en tout ou en partie l'exercice des droits civiques, civils et de famille suivans : 1° de vote et d'élection ; 2° d'éligibilité ; 3° d'être appelé ou nommé aux fonctions de juré ou autres fonctions publiques, ou aux emplois de l'administration, ou d'exercer ces fonctions ou emplois ; 4° de port d'armes ; 5° de vote et de suffrage dans les délibérations de famille ; 6° d'être tuteur, curateur, si ce n'est de ses enfans, et sur l'avis seulement de la famille ; 7° d'être expert ou employé comme témoin dans les actes ; 8° de témoignage en justice autrement que pour y faire de simples déclarations."

(7) *Loi du 9 juin 1819, art.* 9. "Les propriétaires ou éditeurs responsables d'un journal ou écrit périodique, ou auteur, ou rédacteur d'articles imprimés dans ledit journal ou écrit, prévenus de crimes ou délits pour fait de publication, seront poursuivis et jugés dans les formes et suivant les distinctions prescrites à l'égard de toutes les autres publications." Art. 10. "En cas de condamnation, les mêmes peines leur seront appliquées : toutefois les amendes pourront être élevées au double, et en cas de récidive portées au quadruple sans préjudice des peines de la récidive prononcées par le Code pénal."

(8) *Loi du 18 juillet 1828, art.* 3 : "Seront exempts de tout cautionnement :

" 1° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques qui ne paraissent qu'une fois par mois ou plus rarement.

" 2° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques exclusivement consacrés, soit aux sciences mathématiques, physiques, et naturelles, soit aux travaux et recherches d'érudition, soit aux arts mécaniques et libéraux, c'est-à-dire aux sciences et aux arts dont s'occupent les trois académies des sciences, des inscriptions et des beaux-arts de l'Institut royal.

" 3° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques étrangers aux matières politiques, et exclusivement consacrés aux lettres ou d'autres branches de connaissances non spécifiées précédemment, pourvu qu'ils ne paraissent au plus que deux fois par semaine.

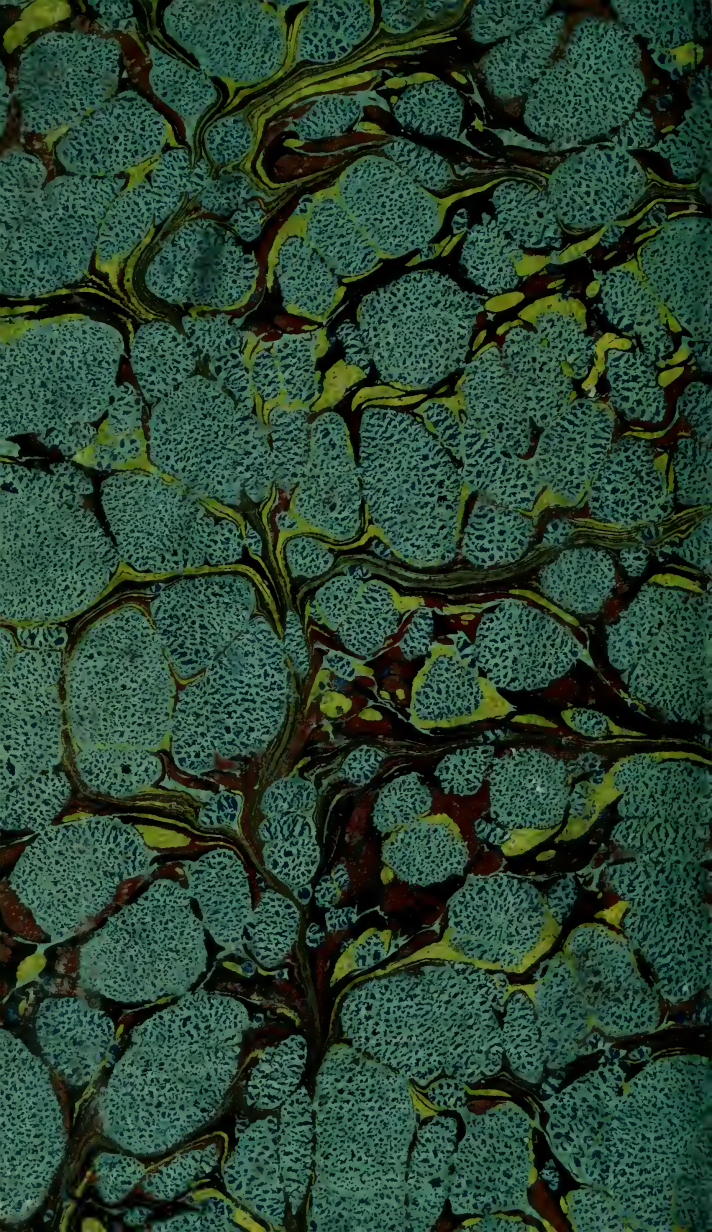
" 4° Tous les écrits périodiques étrangers aux matières politiques, et qui seront publiés dans une autre langue que la langue française.

" 5° Les feuilles périodiques, exclusivement consacrées aux avis, annonces, affiches judiciaires, arrivages maritimes, mercuriales et prix courans.

" Toute contravention aux dispositions du présent article sera punie conformément à l'art. 6 de la loi du 9 juin 1819." (Voir note 9.)

(9) *Loi du 9 juin* 1812, *art.* 6. " Quiconque publiera un journal ou écrit périodique sans avoir satisfait aux conditions prescrites par les articles 1, 4 et 5 de la présente loi, sera puni correctionnellement d'un emprisonnement d'un mois à six mois, et d'une amende de deux cents francs à douze cents francs."

(10) *Loi du* 18 *juillet* 1828, *art.* 8 : "Chaque numéro de l'écrit périodique sera signé en minute par le propriétaire, s'il est unique; par l'un des gérans responsables, si l'écrit périodique est publié par une société en nom collectif ou en commandite; et par l'un des administrateurs, s'il est publié par une société anonyme. — L'exemplaire signé pour minute sera, au moment de la publication, déposé au parquet du procureur du roi du lieu de l'impression, ou à la mairie dans les villes où il n'y a pas de tribunal de première instance, à peine de cinq cents francs d'amende contre les gérans. Il sera donné récépissé du dépôt. — La signature sera imprimée au bas de tous les exemplaires, à peine de cinq cents francs d'amende contre l'imprimeur, sans que la révocation du brevet puisse s'ensuivre. — Les signataires de chaque feuille ou livraison seront responsables de son contenu et passibles de toutes les peines portées par la loi à raison de la publication des articles ou passages incriminés, sans préjudice de la poursuite contre l'auteur ou les auteurs desdits articles ou passages, comme complices. En conséquence, les poursuites judiciaires pourront être dirigées, tant contre les signataires des feuilles ou livraisons, que contre l'auteur ou les auteurs des passages incriminés, si ces auteurs peuvent être connus ou mis en cause."

(11) *Loi du* 25 *mars* 1822, *art.* 11 : " Les propriétaires ou éditeurs de tout journal ou écrit périodique seront tenus d'y insérer, dans les trois jours de la réception, ou dans le plus prochain numéro, s'il n'en était pas publié avant l'expiration des trois jours, la réponse de toute personne nommée ou désignée dans le journal ou écrit périodique, sous peine d'une amende de 50 fr. à 500 fr.; sans préjudice des autres peines et dommages-intérêts auxquels l'article incriminé pourrait donner lieu. Cette insertion sera gratuite, et la réponse pourra avoir le double de la longueur de l'article auquel elle sera faite."

THE END.